

13061
MULTUM in PARVO, aut VOX VERITATIS:

WHEREIN THE
PRINCIPLES, PRACTICES,
AND
TRANSACTIONS
OF THE

English Nation:

But more especially and in particular

BY THEIR

Representatives Assembled in PARLIAMENT

Anno Domini 1640, 1641: As also 1680, 1681.

ARE

Most faithfully and impartially Examined, Collected,
and Compared together for the present seasonable Use,
Benefit and Information of the Publick.

AS ALSO,

The Wonderful and most Solemn Manner and Form of
Ratifying, Confirming and Pronouncing of that most dreadful Curse
and Execration against the Violaters and Infringers of *MAGNA CHARTA*
in the Time of *HENRY* the Third, King of *England*, &c.

All which is earnestly recommended to the most serious and impartial
Consideration, and perusal of all His MAJESTIES most Loyal,
and most Obedient Subjects (the true *Tory*, *Plbanatick*, and *Bloody*
Papist only excepted) within His Realms of *England*, *Scotland*, and
Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging.

By *THEOPHILUS RATIONALIS*, a Person of Quality, and
a most true Lover of his King and Country.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *Rich. Janeway*, in *Queens-head-Alley* in *Pater-noster-Row*. 1681.

NOT IN THE NEW YORK

WHEREIN THE

PRINCIPLES PRACTICES

AND

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

English Nation

Particularly in the

BY THE

REPRESENTATIVE

AND

AND

Most faithfully and impartially Examined Collected
and Compared together for the present accessible to
the public and information of the Nation

AS ALSO

The Wonderful and most solemn Manner and Form of
the Coronation and Inauguration of our most Excellent
King CHARLES the First and Second

All which are hereunto annexed to the most faithful and impartial
and true copy of the original of the same as they are now
and were formerly kept in the most secret and private
place of the Nation

By THEOPHILUS BARNARD, Esq. of the Inner Temple
and one of the Clerks of his Majesty's Court

LONDON

Printed by R. B. in the Strand 1681

T H E

Epistle Dedicatory.

To the KING'S most Excellent Majesty,
CHARLES the Second, by the Grace of
God, of *England, Scotland, France and Ire-*
land, Protestant King, Defender of the
Faith, &c.

Most Dread Sovereign!

I *Have presumed to prostrate the ensuing Lines at
Your Majesties feet, in regard you are the only
Person in all your Three Kingdoms, that is most
nearly and principally therein concerned. And
I dare be bold to affirm (although they are very high,
proud and lofty words), viz. That if Your Majesty
shall be pleased, without prejudice, prepossession and par-
tiality, most solemnly and seriously to peruse the same,
and will be pleased to take your future measures accord-
ingly: I say then, I am very confident, and fully assured
(unless I have no reason nor understanding remaining
in me, but am delivered over into a reprobate sense),
That Your Majesty may yet be (unless the Decree be
already gone out against us for our total ruine and
destruction) one of the greatest and happiest Monarchs*

A

this

this day in the Christian World. Verbum sapienti, &c.
I have done my duty, and have discharged my Oath
of Allegiance and Supremacy unto your Sacred Ma-
jesty (whom God long preserve), and am

(GREAT SIR)

Your Majesties most Loyal,
most Obedient, and most Faithful
Subject and Servant, to Love,
Honour, and Serve You and my
Countrey *usque ad Mortem.*

Theophilus Rationalis.

THE INTRODUCTION

A U T
LIBER ad LECTOREM

STand off proud Rebels: Royalists draw near;
To see your Prince i'th' front, the Pope i'th' rear.
Let not the Pope affright you, nor dispose
Your thoughts to wander after *Charles* his foes:
The Center clears all doubts that shall arise
From Hellish Plotters, under a disguise
Of State-reformers; though at the self-same time
Both Church and State, their principal design
Is for to ruine: But still in Masquerades,
The Pope and Devil being chief Comrades
Unto these Hellish Monsters, who would bring
Destruction to your Church, confusion to your King.
Heavens bless your Head, with such as will now please
To guard him from such Sycophants as these;
Who doubtless will, by their inveterate hate,
At length prove ruine both to Church and State,
If not prevented by Gods liberal hand,
Under Great *Charles*, who hath the sole Command
And Power to save you, if he will but call
His Council once again near to *Whitehall*,
And let them sit for to dispatch this Crew
Of Wolves and Tygers; Then will straight ensue
A lasting Peace 'twixt Him and People both.
I must conclude, to speak the rest I'm loth.
This Book it self will speak enough, to bring
Peace to the People, Honour to your King.

b

AMEN.

To all the truly Loyal-Hearted Nobility, Gentry, and
Commonalty of this Land : The most grave, sober,
serious, and truly Religious People, and most faithful
obedient Subjects unto his present Majesty ; though
called by the Nick-names of Fanaticks, Presbyterians,
Independents, Anabaptists, Arminians, Socinians, La-
titudinarians, &c.

Rowze Loyal Fannees, look well to your Guard,
The bold God-damme's are in your Rear-ward :
Pray do not budg, keep close within your Station,
These men of late have poison'd half the Nation
With bloody Tenets under a disguise,
To make you Traitors, and a legal Prize
The Sovereign Tree of Tyburn to advance,
Where Ketch their Foreman, must lead up the dance
Call'd Tomser's Mole-trap, and the Tories Gin,
(Now have at all) to catch poor Fannees in.
God help you now: They swear they will you kill,
Because of you they cannot have their will.
You have (say they) disturb'd both Church & State,
For which they love you with a mortal hate.
And now they'll hang you t' rid themselves from evil,
And send you packing to Old Nick the Devil
By some Sham-Plots. This is the only way
To slay such Rebels as have gone astray
So long a time from their most holy Church,
And now Old Nick shall leave them in the lurch.
Damm them and Sink them all, they shall not live:
There's not a man whom our Great Charles shall give
To him his Life, If we may have our will.
This is the time to use our utmost skill.

We'll

We'll tell *Great Charles*, that if he now should spare,
But one of these, all his three Kingdoms are
In danger to be lost; and with this hellish hook
We'll catch the Fish, and then how will they look,
Like Sons of Whores, when *Ketch* shall them befool,
And mount them up upon his three legg'd Stool?
Courage, brave *Towzers*, Here's a noble Plot,
Effect but this, the first will be forgot:
Make King and Council both to understand,
That damn'd Rogue *Godfrey* with his proper hand
Did slay himself: Our work will then be done,
And we shall shine like to the glorious Sun
At his Meridian height; and ever after
We'll break our Fasts with merriment and laughter,
To see what Fools we made the Tory Crew,
Who to the Plot did straightway bid adieu.
And swore to boot that we were innocent,
Of all the Impeachments which the Parliament
Did fasten on us, whom we have outdone,
Although as guilty as our rising Sun
Will shew himself, when as he shall appear
Before his Equals, to bring up the Rear
Of all the Plots and Sham-Plots that have been
Contriv'd by us er'e since his Coming in.

Here stop you Helhounds in your full career,
These Loyal *Fanns* will make you quake for fear.
Their God above will surely them defend,
And bring your Rogueships to your fatal end.
Who then shall smile, and have you in derision,
For all your Libels, and your late Misprision
Of Treason on them; from your bitter Gall,
To make them Rebels to their Kings *Whitehall*.
But hark!

You

You shall be Summon'd fore the Council-Board
Of the next Parliament, where a wise word
We shall not hear from you, only Evasions,
Lyes, Shifts, and Stories, Mental reservations,
For to cracke your guilt, which shall appear
As clear as Crystall in our Hemisphere.
When as bright Sol shall mount his Royal Steed,
To give us light, whereof we stand in need;
Heavens say Amen now; If it be your will,
When this is done, let Peace continue still.
This, oh dear Heavens, is now my plain request,
That so poor *Fauns* at length may have some rest.

*(Bellum dat litem dat pax bona queque Deorum,
Ut tandem redeas, jam peritura prear.)*

I am,

Right Honourable, Right Worshipful, and well-belo-
wed Commoners,

Your most Humble,

most Faithful, and most

Obedient Servant to be commanded,

Theophilus Rationalis.

Multum

noY

Multum in Parvo,

A U T

VOX VERITATIS, &c.

THAT we are fallen into an Age wherein almost all sorts of Men amongst us are still settled upon their Lees; there's none of us all so happy as to be ignorant thereof; and how that the Judgments and Sentiments of Men (and more especially in this latter Age of the World) are most strangely degenerated, biassed, enslaved, and almost overwhelmed with pride, vain-glory, hypocrisy, self-interest (that great *Diana* and Goddess of this World), ambition, passion, prejudice, partiality, faction, rebellion, the espousing of a party, *Et cum multis aliis*, &c. And yet that which is most wonderful, and matter of astonishment, is this, *viz.* That all these Parties, in general, or particular, do declare and pretend, That as to their several Transactions in the World, wherein they are concerned, and in opposition to the rest of their Neighbours, is purely to manifest their great and fervent Zeal to the Honour and Glory of Almighty God, and to promote (as much as in them lyes) a most firm, exact, and uniform Obedience (not omitting at all times their specious pretences of their steady and untainted Loyalty to their Prince) both in Church and State.

But how these Gentlemen, and specious Pretenders before mentioned, will come off at the long run (for as we usually say, *Finis coronat opus*) without a scratch'd face, and a blot in their scutcheons, when-as their several Transactions shall be impartially examined and searched to the bottom, is a kind of a pretty question to be started; and indeed it would be a very ingenious and pleasant divertisement to any person that would make it his business to study the point, and thoroughly and impartially to make an experiment thereof.

This small Treatise (Courteous Readers) peradventure may give you some small satisfaction, in relation to the premises; and it is more than probable, that others hereafter of a more learned and more ingenious capacity, may take example by this small and well-intended piece to enlarge thereupon, and farther to explain what I have here succinctly intimated only for my own, and for some others (which I shall forbear to name) present and seasonable satisfaction, as to those grand Debates, Councils and Transactions which are now in the midst of us upon the wheel, (and here I must beg, that the Lord of his infinite Grace and Mercy would

B

*

be

be pleased to send us at length a good issue upon them all) both in Church and State.

This I thought requisite to cite by way of Introduction; and now will take leave to conduct you somewhat closer and nearer to our matter in hand, *Et honoi soit que mal y pense*); and herein we shall proceed in manner and form as followeth.

That we are fallen at present, not only into a degenerate, rebellious, ambitious and stubborn Age; but in particular, into a very curious, critical, and obnoxious time in that age, *viz. Anno Domini 1680, and 1681*, wherein (as by experience is manifestly true) a man is almost made (though not in the edg of the Law, but in the edg of some others who would be Law-makers) a Capital offender for some words placing or speaking; which peradventure may be very good, orthodox and loyal in themselves, until they come to be scanned, weighed, and interpreted by others in a quite different and contrary sense. (I know, Courteous Readers, you are most of you, at least the best of you, able, and I hope willing to joyn issue with me herein, as Attestators to the truth hereof).

But whether there be a fatality in these present years, as there was about 40 years since, which are by-past and gone, and all things buried (or at least ought to be forgotten) in an Act of Oblivion as to the Transactions of those (as we do usually call them) rebellious times; or whether this critical time doth portend good things to his Majesty of *Great Britain's* (whom God of his infinite mercy long preserve for our peace and quietness sake) affairs and concerns as to his present Government in particular; or whether of any good consequence to the Subjects of his Three Kingdoms in general; or whether this year the Lyon and the Lamb shall not lye down together (according to an ancient Prophecy); or whether His Majesties just Prerogative, and his Subjects Priviledges shall go hand in hand together, I am not able to determine (although some pretend to give a shrewd guess thereunto as to future contingencies), yet I will hope the best, as being fully perswaded and convinced, that the God and Father of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who is the Author of Peace, and Lover of Concord; and of the Souls of them who are willing under their Magistrates (whether Heathen or Christian) to live quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty, will be pleased at length to bring forth peace, tranquillity, and order, out of all our disorders, animosities and present confusions. And herein let every true and Loyal-hearted Subject and English man say, *Amen*.

But, however, this I am sure of (as being able to attest that truth in particular), *viz.* That humble Petitions and Addresses to His Majesty of *Great Britain*, this year *Anno Domini 1681*, is *A-la-mode*, and the very newest fashion (and in my slender judgment and apprehension, is a very comely, decent, and commendable fashion) since the Dissolution of the late Parliament at *Oxford*, and His Majesties late Declaration to all his Loving Subjects, and Ordered to be read (by the Reverend Clergy of the Land) in all Churches and Chappels; since which time Addresses and Humble Petitions have swarm'd in a main, from all Points of the compass (*viz.* from Cities, Burroughs, Towns-Corporate, Lieutenancies, Trained-Bands, &c.) as if they were resolved to storm *Whitehall*, *Wind-sor-Castle*, *Hampton-Court*, and His Majesty Himself (God of Heaven preserve

serve Him), with no other weapons than steady and untainted Loyalty, and with all dutiful and humble Allegiance unto His Majesties Government, as it is now by Law established both in Church and State: And for the which the Lord High Chancellor of *England*, in the Person of His Majesty, hath given them all his true and hearty Thanks for their so numerous and seasonable appearing at this present conjuncture, in opposition to some others, who, it seems, have not the good-hap with the rest of their Neighbours (sure it was by the malevolent aspect and influence of some auspicious male-contented Planets), to form and word their Humble Addresses and Petitions according to the pattern in the *Mount*; and of these Loyal persons that had been of the forlorn hope, and had marched in the front of the battel, and being weighed in the ballance of the Sanctuary (I do not, neither dare I say, in the ballance of the Scriptures and right reason), they were found too light, and for the which they have a mark and a stamp put upon them by way of distinction (I had almost said like unto that, *Revel. 13. 15, 16, 17.*) whereby they are branded and stigmatized as factious and disloyal Subjects (*Sed affirmantis est probare*), and are therefore registred and recorded to be conveyed down by the Pens Militant to future posterity, as persons disloyal and disaffected to the present Government, and to all those Noble Emoluments and Priviledges which our Forefathers never yet saw, nor did enjoy (as some of the Addresses do most happily and emphatically word it) in so plentiful a measure, as under the present Reign of His most Sacred Majesty (whom God long preserve). The which I must needs say is a very hard case to those poor Petitioners, and many of them good Gentlemen, able Citizens, and Persons of Quality, who peradventure did all mean well, though their luck was bad; and therefore all the comfort that I can give them in this particular (in regard *Solamen miseriis* is a very acceptable companion), is only this, That they would be pleased to consider, That if their hearts and hands went together, and had no base, nor rebellious, nor factious design therein whatsoever; and that they were conscious to themselves, that they did their King and Country good service in their late Humble Addresses and Petitions (although misconstrued and misinterpreted); That our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, when he was upon Earth (although the best person that ever breathed in the common air), yet he could not escape reflections and hard censures from his Countrey-men the *Jews*, upon the like account: For some of them said (and but a few, God knows, in comparison of the whole Nation) that he was a good man, when others of a more dissolute and loose conversation said, Nay, but he was a Mountebank, and an Impostor, and deceived the people; therefore what shall we say to all things, but only

Monstrum horrendum, &c.

But to proceed, and come yet a little nearer unto the matter in hand, according to the Contents of the Title-page, *viz.* most faithfully and impartially to examine and compare together the Principles, Practices and Transactions of the English Nation (but more especially by their Representatives Assembled in Parliament) *Anno Domini 1640*, and *1641*. and *Anno Domini 1680*, and *1681*. (The compleat and exact distance of time
the

the Children of *Israel*, the peculiar People of God, were wandring, rebelling and provoking his Divine Majesty in the Wilderness, before they were actually possessed of the land of *Canaan*): And wherein persons and things do now look and represent themselves almost with the very same face (nay I had almost said with a Ten-times more ominous, ill-featured, and dismal aspect than formerly). But yet notwithstanding I can by no means apprehend the same dreadful fate and consequence will ensue now, as did *de facto* in those preceding years (*viz.* a Nation wading and wallowing over head and ears in hot Christian blood, and sheathing the naked sword in each others bowels, and appealing to Law of Arms to decide the grand Controversie in those days, which so unfortunately hapned between the Commons of *England* Assembled in Parliament, and his late Majesty of deplorable Memory, the chief Magistrate thereof), although the true Phanatick, Tory and Tantivy-men of the Age, both in Press and Pulpit, do endeavour Might and Main (and leave no stone unturn'd in order thereunto) to possess our Governours, and those that sit at the Helm, with this vain, frivolous, and (I hope) ridiculous belief. But, blessed be God, there are yet some few Wise men among us, who are of the contrary perswasion, and can penetrate as far into a Millstone as themselves, and who understand their black designs and meanings herein well enough (and how that they would willingly, and with all their hearts and souls be warming themselves at such a fire): And there is a just and righteous God above, who will at the last (as he hath in some good measure done already) countermine, bring to light, destroy and confound all their Plots and Sham-plots of this and the like nature whatsoever, and will make them to be rendred in his own good time, the very off-scum, scorn, contempt and derision of our English *Israel*, and shall be handled and translated down to future posterity as the firebrands and principal fomentors of all our animosities and unhappy divisions.

And here to come to a right understanding of those precedent Transactions, we must make a Digression, and by a retrograde step take a transient view of the many Precursors of our late unhappy Troubles and Revolutions, and which were engendring and fomenting in the Body Politique from the time of the Death of King *James*, until the beginning of these years, wherein by reason of a Long, long, long Interval of Parliaments (or rather as some would have it, a long *interregnum* of two vital parts of the Constitution it self) our English Monarchy (although the best and well-temper'd Government, when the exercise of the vital parts thereof be not obstructed in its due circulation, this day in the Christian World) received for some time among us its Mortal wound.

And herein, as I would not for my right hand vindicate or justify any Illegal, Unwarrantable, or any Tyrannical Proceedings of any particular Number, or numbers of men whatsoever, and who were actually concern'd in those late, most dismal, and most deplorable revolutions; so, on the other side, I would not altogether condemn all them who were then in the Vogue of the people, the esteemed Patriots of their Lives, Liberties, and Properties, and the grand Assertors of the Kings Majesties most Legal and Just Prerogatives both in Church and State; and those that are yet *inter vivos* of them, do most solemnly protest and declare, That in process of time, Persons and Transactions were stretched forth

to preternatural Dimensions, and Diametrically opposite to the primary intentions and inclinations of the House of Commons themselves; and His present Majesty that now Reigneth (whom God long preserve in the midst of us) was pleased from *Breda* most graciously to observe, *viz.* That through mistakes and misunderstandings, many inconveniencies were produced, which were not intended. And that the *Long Parliament*, so called (although there hath been a much longer since) had no design in the least measure in their primary thoughts and intentions to shake off the Monarchy (although there are some particular men at this present conjuncture of time in the Pulpit that make them to be all King *Ahab's*, and that *Naboth's* Vineyard and Inheritance was their principal design, although slyly couched under the specious and godly pretence of Liberty and Property; wherein I think they are true Tory-men indeed, and very uncharitable in the highest measure), but only to prune and pare off some Luxuriant and overgrown branches (*viz.* *Court Parasites*, evil Counsellors, who were great Favorites, corrupt Judges, and such-like Sycophants) which had well-nigh sucked (like so many idle Drones) the very sap from the root of our most Noble, Magnificent, thrice happy, and never enough to be admired Triple-Constitution.

And in order to the accomplishment of the aforementioned premises, I have consulted several Authors for my best satisfaction, that are now extant, as to the Transactions of those times, wherein, I must confess, I do find them at a very great distance and opposition one to another, and very various in their several sentiments and apprehensions, according to their particular inclinations as to the merit of the cause on either side; wherein, by the way (although with all due submission to the more grave, accurate and discerning Judgments of the Learned) I do humbly conceive, some of these have erred too much on the right, and others too much on the left hand; but yet as to matter of fact, as to what was really done and transacted in those days, they do in the main generally all agree. And among the rest I have perused one piece in particular, which in my slender apprehension hath avoided both extremes (and as we do usually say, *In Medio consistet Virtus*), and hath passed *Scylla* and *Charibdis* without any danger of too much reflecting upon either side: Him I have made choice of in particular, as one of the ablest Pilates to steer my course through the Channell (whereby to avoid those many Rocks and Quick-sands which a man may suddenly run upon, if he have not the Conduct of an experienced guide), and so, God send the good Ship of *Vox Veritatis* unto her desired harbour; A Ship, though but small in bulk, yet pretty handsomely and tight built for Publick service, and I hope will be able stoutly to defend His Majesties particular Person and Government, by King, Lords and Commons, against all bold Assassins, against all crafty Incendiaries, against all cursed *Achitophels*, against all absolute Monarchical Tories and Tantivies, against all Blood-thirsty and Hellish Papists whatsoever, who would not only pervert, but utterly destroy the present best established Government this day in the Christian World, by stretching of it forth beyond its legal and due bounds, privos, restrictions and limitations. And from such notorious and malicious persons in grain, let every good and loyal Subject, and every true English-man insert it in his Quoditian Litany and private Devotion, *Libera nos Domine.*

The Title of that particular piece I have even now mentioned is, *viz.*
The Reign of King Charles: By H. L. Esquire.

London, Printed by F. L. and J. G. for Henry Seile, Senior and Junior,
 over-against St. Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet; and Edward Dod at the
 Gun in Ivy-Lane, Anno Domini 1656.

And that the said person was not biased, you may perceive by the
 Date thereof: It was in the time when the late Tyrant *Oliver Cromwell*
 had assumed the seat of chief Magistrate; and at that time of day to have
 dipped his Pen in gall, might have been very grateful and complefant to
 that grand Usurper, who having such a puissant and dreadful Army of
 well-disciplin'd, victorious and well-paid *Janizaries* at his Command, made
 the Lyon so impudently bold, as to call our grand Charter of England,
Magna Charta, Magna F.—And in a small space of time after that, it
 pleased God to snatch him away from us in a high tempestuous wind, as
 an example to all future Tyrants who shall offer to attempt the like bold-
 ness upon our fundamental Laws, Liberties and Properties.

And that you may be the better satisfied as to the impartiality of this
 ingenious and fair Historian (what he was, or is, if as yet *inter vivos*, I
 cannot tell), Pray do but peruse his Preface to the said History, and you
 will find in his *Verbis*, in his own Apology, *&c.*

What Oblique Descants will come to Traverse upon this honest Narra-
 tive, I already prejudicate. The fate of those who write of Times within
 ken, Time's better for the History, than for the Historian.

For while they render truth more resplendent, they usually bring the
 Relator under a cloud, whence the base of all faithful Tradition, that an
 Historian is rarely found, until the truth be lost: And what is History
 without its Idium? Truth, but a meer Romance: And if so, what Pen
 will undertake the History of a King? Kings in their Functions so nearly
 resemble the Divine Nature, as God himself hath stiled them Gods. And
 as in many respects they represent it, so also in that of *Cyprian*, though
 not in his sense, *De Deo etiam periculosum est dicere verum.* Though as
 man they are within the incidence of frailty (for as that Emperor said,
Imperium non tollit affectus, Sovereignty doth not proscribe humane affec-
 tions), yet their failings have been in former times accounted like their
 Perions, so sacred, that to touch them, though never so tenderly, hath
 been esteemed Petty-Treason: But in King *Charles* (the grand concern-
 ment of these Annals) the danger is counter-changed, and to exhibit in
 him any thing of merit and importance less than a *Nero* or *Domitian*,
 many will not endure. And these two extremes make my passage through
 this History, like that of *Jonathans* to the *Philistins*, a sharp Rock on
 the one side, and a sharp Rock on the other side. Which consideration
 hath moved me to decline many things, otherwise remarkable, and not
 commonly known, and to content my self with saving truths; nor should
 I have adventured a modest Vindication of this King in some particulars,
 (not reflecting upon the fatal proceedings against him) had not the inge-
 nuity of some eminently disaffected to him led me the way.

But if in relation to these perils I have been studious to bear my self
 erect, yet in other concerns some will censure me for too strong a
 Bias.

Some

Some will say, peradventure, I seem no friend to the Clergy; and lest my silence should make this an Accusation, which is but a meer Calumny, I answer, Churchmen I honour (no man more), and this I do for their Sacred Orders sake: But if their Order be Sacred, it doth not (I wish it did) make all such who are initiated in that Order; too many of that holy profession are, ever were, and will be Sacred in another, and worse sense.

The unsanctified lives of some officiating at the Sacred Altar, have been the complaint of all ages. Read we not (to their shame) of the sons of *Eli*, whose impiety made them abhor the Offerings of the Lord? Doth not *Chrysostome* tell us of some of his Contemporaries, who, had Canonical Discipline, been punctually observed, should not have been permitted so much as to step over the threshold of Gods house, were notwithstanding advanced to the highest grison of Church-Dignities?

And if this Narrative presents some *Ecclesiasticks* blame-worthy, the inference is fallacious, that therefore our times are worse than former, or that the accrimination overspreadeth all: No, what *St. Augustine* said of some *Enormitans* in his time, is no less true of ours; That though our Church had cause to grieve for the blemishes of some, yet might she glory in the Ornaments of more.

And so much shall serve for my present purpose as to the former part of this Authors Preface, wherein he doth endeavour to satisfie his Readers, that he will carry an even hand between either side, and steer his course aright; and so far I shall endeavour (as much as in me lyes) to write after his Copy: But yet where persons are blame-worthy, I shall not be Meal-mouth'd, but let them know their failings and embecillities, until they give me better satisfaction than I have at present concerning their Reformation.

And now to transcribe some of this Authors Narrative, concerning the *Reign of King Charles the First*; so wise, so vertuous, so temperate, so chaste, so learned, and so religious a Prince, and a strong assertor of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England* against the Old Gentleman at *Rome*, and all his adherents; yet that this Prince after his Death by the Pen-Militant, instead of inserting this Parenthesis concerning him, (as they have done of many Princes after their decease) of *Ever blessed Memory*, should be constrained to counterchange their Dialect, and say of *Ever unfortunate and deplorable Memory*; I must confess is so profound a mystery unto me, that I am not able to search and penetrate into the depth thereof, and therefore must leave this (I could wish I were not able to say so much by experience) most unfortunate Prince (though of *Ever blessed Memory* in some sense) unto the searcher of all hearts (and before whom all things are naked, bare and open), who worketh, and wisely disposeth of all things both in Heaven and in Earth, according to the infallible and most unerring Council and Dictates of his own Will.

But to proceed in my intended design, to Transcribe from my Author some of the particular and most material Transactions as to matter of fact in those days (and should I have transcribed the whole, it would have been a new Edition of the said Narrative, and would have swelled this small piece (which was intended for no other in my primary cogitations) unto a very large Bulk, the which you may please to peruse in manner and form as followeth, viz.

Es si confestimur de aliquibus. Purgamentis tamen consolamur de pluribus Ornamentis. Aug. Epist. 137.

King

King *James* surrendred his Soul to God (and his Three Kingdoms to his Son) at *Theobalds*, Anno Domini, *March* the 27th, 1625.

And now it will not be amiss (saith the ingenious Historian) nor vary from the usual ceremony ordained to the body of extinct Princes, if I here represent in brief the pourtraiture of this Famous Monarch, which I will do freely, sincerely, and with a spirit which equally disdains to libel or flatter him.

His Character

In the stile of the Court, he went for *Great Britains Solomon*; nor is it any excursion beyond the Precincts of verity, to say, that neither *Britain*, nor any other Kingdom whatsoever could ever since *Solomon's* days glory in a King (for recondite learning and abstruse knowledge), so near a match to *Solomon* as he: And though he was a Universal Scholar, yet did he make other Sciences (their most proper employment), but drudges and servitors to Divinity, wherein he became so transcendently eminent, as he notoriously foil'd the greatest Clerks of the *Roman See*: Nor did his Theological abilities more advantage the Cause of Religion abroad, than at home, they keeping the new-fangled Clergy aloof, and at a distance, as not daring to infuse into so solid a judgment their upstart and erroneous fancies, no nor disquiet the Churches peace with Heterodox opinions (by which it appears this Author and King *James* were both *Calvinists*, as to their particular Sentiments in matters of Religion); A stout adversary he was to the *Arminians* and *Semi-Pelagians*, whom he called as *Prosper* before him (and so doth the whole tribe of them ever since) the Enemies of Gods grace.

And as slender a friend he was to the Presbytery (here he intends in matters Ecclesiastical, as to the form of Church-government and imposed Constitutions), of whose Tyrannical and Antimonarchical principles he had from his cradle smart experience; He was an excellent Speaker, the Scheme of his Oratory being more stately than Pedantick, and the Expressions argued him both a King and Scholar: In his apparel and civil garb he seemed naturally to affect a Majestick carelesness, which was so heftick and habitual in him, as even in Religious exercises (where the external demeanor is a grand part of that sacred homage) he was somewhat too incurious and irreverent: He was indulgent a little to his Palat, and had a smack of the Epicure: In pecuniary dispensations to his Favourites he was most excessive liberal, yea though the exigence of his own wants pleaded retention: Nor was *Solomon* himself more a *Solomon*, according to the true notion of the word, which imports a man of rest, than he, selecting for his Motto, *Beati Pacifici*, or the seventh Beatitude, as most agreeable to his genius and natural constitution; He was studious of peace somewhat over-much for a King; in pursuit whereof, Virtue flew to a lessening, and (in the opinion of many) out of sight, he incurring thereby the note of Pusillanimity, very suspicious from his managing the Cause of the *Palatinate*; for had not the thought of War been terrible unto him, would he so long have endured his Son-in-law, exterminated from his Patrimony, while the *Austrian* Faction (to his great dishonour) cajol'd, and kept him in delusory chat with specious fallacies? Would he in those several Negotiations of *Carlisle*, *Brislow*, *Belfast* and *Weston*, have spent so vast sums, the moiety whereof, had they been disposed in Military-levies and preparations, would have Modell'd an Army able (when *Hidleburgh*,
Man-

Manbrein and *Frankindale* defended themselves) to have totally dissipated all the forces of the Usurpers, to have Master'd the imperious Eagle, enforcing her to forego her Quarry, and reinstate the *Paulsgrave*? Would he so tediously have courted the Alliance of *Spain*, to the very great regret of his Subjects, whom his Predecessor had so often baffled, and whom *England* ever found a worse friend than enemy? What stronger Evidence can be given in of a wonderful defect of courage?

As this faint-heartedness lost him the reputation and respects of his People, so his heavy pressures upon them, and undue Levies by Privy-Seals, and the like, alienated their affections, especially considering how those Moneys were misemployed, indeed rather thrown away, partly in the two dishonourable Treaties of *Spain* and *Germany*, and the consequential Entertainments, and partly in Largesses upon his Minion *Buckingham*. Between this disaffection and contempt in his People, there was generated a general disposition to turbulent and boisterous darings, and expostulations even against his darling Prerogative. And though those dismal calamities which after befel his Son, were amplified doubtless by a superfetation of causes, yet was their first and main existency derivative from those recited grounds: Let Court-Pens extol the calmness of his Halcion Reign with all the artifice of Rhetorick: Let them conclude the Parable, and tell us, God gave King *James* also as he did *Solomon*, rest from all his enemies round about; yet can they never truly deny, but that admired severity had its set in a cloud, and that he left to his Successor a Crown of Thorns, as being engaged to contend with two puissant Enemies: First the mighty Monarch of the West, the King of *Spain*. Secondly the more invincible of the two, an empty purse; For that King who hath this Enemy to encounter, shall never achieve any thing of glorious production.

The death of this Famous Monarch caused no other *interregnum*, than of joy, his Son *Charles* being immediately by Sir *Edward Zouch* (then Knight Marshal) proclaimed at the Court-gate, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland. His first Act of Regality was to dispatch Avissors of his Fathers decease to Foreign Princes and States, his Correspondents, with whom he was in Amity. Next, he took into care the becoming Obsequies of the Royal Corps, which removed from *Theobalds* to *Deuonshire* house in *London*, April the 23^d, was thence, the 7th of May, conveyed to *Westminster*, and there inhum'd with the greatest Solemnities, and most stately Ritualities could be devised.

Though grief had taken up the principal Lodgings of King *Charles* his heart, yet did it not quite turn love out of doors: but he had still an eye to *France*, and held himself concern'd to let his Agents know he was mindful of the stock he had going there; and to rear a firm assurance of his serious intentions, He sent over Letters of Procuration for the Duke of *Chavrenx* to espouse the Lady *Henrietta Maria*; only he added this especial precaution, That those Letters should not be resigned up until May the 8th, when the Celebrities of his Fathers Funeral would be over; for he would not that grief and joy (things incompatible) should jostle. But these instructions (for what cause I know not) were not in all points precisely observed: for on May the 11th, as others; and the first, as we compute, six days before King *James* his Obsequies, the Espousals were

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solemnized

solemnized in the Church of *Noſtredame* in *Paris*, the Queen being given by her two Brothers, the King and Monsieur; the Nuptials paſt, the Royal Bride prepared for *England*; and to wait upon her with the greater ſplendor, his Maſteſty diſpatcheth over the Duke of *Buckingham*, with the Earl of *Montgomery*, and other Perſons of Quality. May the 24th they arrived at *Paris*, and June the 2^d the Queen (after the iteration of moſt affectionate adieux reciprocated and interchanged between the King and her ſelf), ſet forward for *Amiens*; where being attended with a moſt Princely retinue, ſhe was under the reſtraint of a Magnificent Entertainment till the 16 of that Month; thence ſhe diſlodged for *Bul-loigne*, where ſhe was to Embarque for *England* (the Contagion then being much at *Calais*); there ſhe found ready to receive her 21 tall Ships ſent from her deareſt, with a gallant Convoy of the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham*, and other Ladies of Honour and Eminence to ſerve her.

June the 22^d ſhe ſet Sail for *England*, and Landed ſafe at *Dover*, after a turbulent and tempeſtuous paſſage. His Maſteſty lay that night at *Canterbury*, and next morning with joy incredible greeted his Royal Conſort, and conducted her to *Canterbury*, where the Marriage was finally compleated; the Duke of *Cheveraux*, his Maſteſties former Representative, conſigning up his precious charge to the King, &c.

I have heard ſome who undertake to mate all events with their proper cauſes, paſſionately aſcribe *Englands* Calamities to thoſe Internuptials, and fetch that ireful ſtroke of Divine vengeance upon his late Maſteſty, from his Marrying a Lady of miſ-belief.

Grant I do, that both *Englands* and his Maſteſties Sufferings may (in ſome ſort) be reductive to the casualty of that Match; but that there was any inſinick noxiousneſs in it, either as *French* or *Popiſh*, I am not yet convinced.

The ſame time, while His Maſteſty was thus buſied in his Amorous Negotiation abroad, he plyed as well his Intereſt at home; and while he Wooed his Royal Miſtriſs there, he made Loye to his People here, by Summoning a Parliament; that League being not more important to him as Man, than this as King; for as Man is without a female Conſort, ſo is a King without his Supreme Council, an half-form'd ſteril thing; the natural Extracts of the one, procreated without a Wife, are not more ſpurious than the Laws, the politick Descendents of the other, without the coition of a Representative. The ſolemnity of this grand Match was commenced at *Weſtminſter*, June the 18th. At firſt interview it appeared under the ſcheme and falſhion of a Money-Wedding, and, in truth, the publick affairs did then implore no leſs. Upon the opening the Parliament, the King imparted his mind to the Lords and Commons to this effect.

My

My Lords and Gentlemen !

YOU are not ignorant, that at your earnest intreaty, March 23. 1643, my Father (of happy Memory) first took up Arms for the recovery of the Palatinate ; for which purpose, by your assistance, he began to form a considerable Army, and to prepare a goodly Armado and Navy-Royal : But death intervening between him and the atchievement, the War with the Crown is devolved upon me. To the prosecution whereof, as I am obliged both in Nature and Honour, so I question not but the same necessity continuing, you will cherish the action with the like affection, and farther it with a ready contribution. True it is, you furnished my Father with affectionate supplies, but they held no symmetry or proportion with the charge of so great an enterprize, for those your Donatives are all disburs'd to a penny ; and I am enforced to summon you hither, to tell you, That neither can the Army advance, nor the Fleet set forth without your aid.

Consider, I pray you, the Eyes of all Europe are fixt upon me, to whom I shall appear ridiculous, as though I were unable to out-go Muster and Ostentation, if you now desert me ; it is my first attempt, wherein, if I sustain a foil, it will blemish all my future Honour.

If mine cannot, let your Reputations move, deliver and expedite me fairly out of this War, wherewith you have becumbred (let it never be said wherein into you have betrayed) me. I desire therefore your speedy supply ; speedy I call it, for else it will prove no supply. The Sun you know is entring into his declining point ; so it will be soon too late to set forth, when it will be rather not too soon to return. Again, I must mind you of the Mortality now Regnant in this City, which should it (and so it may, and no breach of privilege neither) arrest any one Member of either House, it soon would put a period both to Consultation and Session, so that your own periclitation necessitates an early resolution.

In sum, three of the best Rhetoricians, Honour, Opportunity and Safety, are all of a plot, and plead, you see, for expedition. Perhaps it may be expected I should say something in way of Account of my Religion, as also of the Temper and Tenure of my future Government. But as I hope I have not been guilty of any thing which may justly start the least question in either, so I would desire you to repose in this assurance, That I will in neither vary from those principles, wherein I have been instituted at the feet of that Eminent Gamaliel, my late Father.

The Speech being ended, the King Vailed his Crown, a thing rare in any of his Predecessors.

Though denied it could not be, but this Speech was elemented of very rational materials, and ponderous arguments ; yet it did not cause such a precipitation of resolution, but that the Parliament did descend to the consideration thereof by degrees.

That which retarded the Debate, was this : They had in store by them two Petitions ; one for Religion, the other against Grievances ; to which having been moulded in King James his time, and preferr'd to him at the close of the last Sessions of the last Parliament, they (as yet) never received answer. They said it was the ancient, and as they conceived, a most

most prudential practice, to present Petitions at the Commencement of Parliaments; or so long before their Dissolutions, as the King might have time to return a deliberate Answer; That the same course they were resolved strictly to pursue, and give priority of dispatch to those Petitions, before any other business whatsoever; which accordingly they did.

To the several Heads against Grievances, His Majesty gave a distinct and satisfactory answer, and promised largely upon the Petition for Religion; and the better to draw on Supplies, he did *audire* unto them the several Disbursements, both relating to the Army and Navy, that so all jealousies of mis-employment might be removed; which produced so good effects, as that the Laity gave him freely, and without condition, two Subsidies from Protestants, and four from Papists, as a mulct from the House upon their Recusancy, and the Clergy three.

This was upon *July* the 8th; and the next day the King signified, That he took notice of the slender appearance in the House, by reason of contagion; and that therefore having a tender regard to their healths, he declared his intention of Adjourn'g them upon *Monday* next, being the 11th of that Month, which accordingly was performed to the 1st of *August*; and *Oxford* named for the place, which gave disgust to some Members of the House.

In this Sessions of Parliament was Mr. *Montague* questioned for Publishing certain Books prejudicial to the Protestant Cause, for which he was ordered to be brought to the Bar; to whom the Speaker declared the pleasure of the House, That they would refer his Censure to the next Meeting; and in the interim, in respect of his notorious contempt, he should stand committed to the Serjeants Ward, entring Bail for his then appearance.

But Mr. *Montague* had, by the cunning artifice of his Court-friends, crept into the Kings service undiscern'd; and the King signified to the Parliament two days after, That he thought his Servants (whereof *Montague* was one) might have as much Protection as the Servant of an ordinary Burges; nevertheless his Bond, of 2000 *l.* whereupon he was Bailed, continued uncancell'd.

August the 1st the Parliament met again at *Oxford*; the Divinity-School was appointed for the House of Commons, and the Galleries above for the House of Lords.

The 4th of the same Month, both Houses were called together to *Christ Church Hall* by the King, where he laid open unto them his wants, for setting forth the Fleet; but the Parliament, before they would return any Answer, presented him with a Petition against Recusants, to this effect.

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Most Gracious Sovereign!

IT being infallibly true, that nothing can more establish your Throne, and assure the peace and prosperity of your People, than the unity and sincerity of Religion; We your Majesties most humble and loyal Subjects, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, observing that of late there is an apparent, mischievous increase of Papists within your Dominions, hold our selves bound in conscience and duty to present the same unto your Sacred Majesty, together with the dangerous consequences, and what we conceive to be the most principal causes, and what may be the remedies thereof.

1. Their desperate ends, being the Subversion both of Church and State, and the restlessness of their spirits to attain those ends; the Doctrines of their Teachers and Leaders perswading them, that therein they shall do God good service.
2. Their evident and strict dependance upon such Foreign Princes, as no way affect the good of your Majesty and State.
3. An opening a way of Popularity, to the ambition of any who shall adventure to make himself Head of so great a party.

The principal causes of the increase of Papists in those times, and the remedies proposed by the Parliament, I shall refer you to the Book it self for your farther satisfaction. To all the several branches thereof the King, August the 7th, gave such a plausible and satisfactory answer, as nothing could be desired more.

One good turn, requires another: And as the King had given the Parliament ample content by this Answer, so he hoped they would be as cheerful in supplying him with Moneys, for which he earnestly importun'd them, and more especially for his great Naval preparation; whereupon ensued a great Debate in the House; some were very prompt to give, without delay; some would give, but in convenient time, but not then; others would give, but they complained that the design was managed by young and single Council; that Sir Robert Mansell, a man of singular judgment and experience, had declared against the Plot, and had tender'd to the Council of War a project of much greater advantage, and less expence, which was approved by the Lord of Chichester; to the which the Solicitor replied in the Dukes behalf, That the Council of War (for the generality) much disliked the project of Sir Robert, and concluded upon what was then intended; but the greater part agreed not to give, and to make an humble Remonstrance, declaring the Causes and Reasons of their not giving.

Most of the Voters of this Remonstrance flew high, and impetuously prest in upon the Duke; some would divest him of his Offices, the Admiralty especially; others of his Revenue, by resuming what he possess'd of the Crown-demeans; others demanded an account of what publick Moneys he had been entrusted with. This being signified to the King, he soon prognosticated of what quality the Remonstrance would prove; therefore immediately in distaste, he determined to Dissolve the Parliament.

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The House of Commons were Resolved into a Grand Committee; when the Usher came from the Lords House with that Message; and before they would permit the Solicitor then in the Chair, to leave his seat, they agreed upon a Protestation, which Mr. *Glanvill* stood up and declared to this effect.

First, To give his Majesty Thanks for his Gracious Answer to our Petition for Religion.

Next, For his care of our health, in giving us leave to depart this dangerous time.

Lastly, A dutiful Declaration of our affections, and loyalty, and purpose to supply his Majesty in a Parliamentary-way, in a fitting and convenient time.

This being done, the Speaker took the Chair, and admitting the Usher, he declared his Message from the Lords concerning the Dissolution of the Parliament.

Now had the King an opportunity for his Summers past-time, but that his own progress might not impede that of his affairs, his Council were commanded to go along with him. By whose general advice, two things were most considerably resolved upon:

First, That the Fleet should speedily be put to Sea.

Secondly, That a more strict Amity should be enter'd into with the States of the United Provinces.

Several were the Defects of such as pretended to judicious censure, as fancy and affection sway'd the ballance; some blamed the Parliament for not supplying the Kings necessities, whereby the Fleet put forth too late; some reflected sinisterly upon the Duke, saying, It never was, nor never will be well with *England*, while the Sea is under the Command of an Admiral so young, and withal so unexperienc'd; others also made deduction from this miscarriage of *Gades Voyage*, in reference to the King; that because Commencements do often foreshadow the qualification of future contingencies in the series and row of succeeding affairs; they much feared this was but the earnest of some inauspiciousness which would attend the residue of his Reign: Nor, among the rest, was Captain *Brett's* conjecture vain, who told the Duke, That the Fleet was never like to speed better, wherein there went a long Bag without Money, Cook without Meat, and Love without Charity; for so were the three Captains named; and a great default there was doubtless of sufficient pay, of wholesome meat, and unanimity.

The *Michaelmas-Term* was by reason of the infection at *London*, translated to *Reading*; from whence the King, according to late Answer in Parliament, issued out in *November* a Commission to the Judges, to see the Laws against Recusants put in Execution.

This Commission was read in all the Courts of Judicature at *Reading*, and withal a Letter was directed to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, enjoining him to take special care within his Province, for the discovery of *Jesuits*, *Seminary-Priests*, and other Recusants, offenders against the Laws. It was, in truth, high time for severe Proceedings against them, they having contracted so much insolence, and presuming upon protection, by reason of the late Match; that at *Winchester*, and many other places, they frequently

quently passed through the Churches in time of Divine Service, hooting and hallowing, not only to the disturbance of that duty, but to the scorn of our Religion; yea, and one Popish Lord, when the King was at Chapel, was heard to prate on purpose louder in a Gallery adjoyning, than the Chaplain prayed; whereat the King was so moved, that he sent this Message too him, *viz.* Either let him come and do as we do, or else I will make him prate farther off.

On *February* the 2d, this year, *Anno Domini 1625*, the King was Crowned at *Westminster* with the usual (though I cannot say Magnificent) Ceremonies and Solemnities.

The Coronation being past, the King prepareth for a Parliament now approaching; the last he thought was somewhat uncivil towards the Duke; and the Delinquents (as he thought) must be made examples: Upon this account the Lord-Keeper *Williams*, soon after the Dissolution of the late Parliament, fell, and his place was disposed of to Sir *Thomas Coventry*, &c.

On the 16th of this *February*, the Parliament met; the Commons began their work, where they last broke off at *Oxford*, making Religion their first, and which was their superlative care; recollecting what a full and satisfactory Answer the King gave to their Petition against Recusants, and his Commission issued out in pursuance of that Answer, appointed a Committee for Religion, impowring them most strictly to examine what abuses of his Majesties Grace had occurred since that time, and who were the Authors and Abettors of the same.

The House of Commons being in expectation of some Discovery from their Committee, at length Mr. *Prin* made a report of a Letter written to the Lord Mayor of *York*, for reprieving some Jesuits, Priests, and other Recusants. This Letter being under the *Signet*, a sub-Committee was ordered to search the *Signet-Office*, and compare it with the Original.

These Proceedings inwardly much displeased the King, yet he smothered the indignity for a time, though he did after intimate the same unto them among his other regrets: And plying his more important affairs with a most steady temper, he sent a Message unto them by Sir *Richard Weston*, to this effect, *viz.*

That his Fleet is returned, and their Vittuals spent; the Men must of necessity be discharged, and their wages paid them, or else mutiny will follow, which may be of dangerous consequence.

That he hath in readinesse about 40 Ships, to be set forth upon a second service, which want a present supply of monies.

That the Armies, quartered on the Coasts, want Vittuals and Cloaths; and they will Disband, if not furnished.

The Companies of Ireland lately sent, must speedily be provided for, else they may be subject to rebel.

Lastly, The season for providing healthful provision will be past, if this Month of March be suffered through negligence to elapse.

And therefore he desired to know without more ado what present supplies he must depend upon from them, that so accordingly he might shape his course.

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Instead of a supply to his Message, Mr. *Clement Coke* (Son to Sir *Edward Coke*) a Member of the House of Commons, let fly this reply: *It is better to dye by a Foreign Enemy, than to be destroyed at home*; and as if the Prerogative had not been sufficiently alarm'd by that expression, one *Turner*, a Doctor of Physick, re-assaults it in these six Queries:

1. Whether the King hath not lost the Regality of the Narrow Seas since the Duke became Admiral?
2. Whether his going in the last Fleet as Admiral, was not the cause of ill success?
3. Whether the Kings Revenue hath not been impaired through his immense liberality?
4. Whether he hath not ingrossed all Offices, and preferred his kindred to unfit places?
5. Whether he hath not made sale of places of Judicature?
6. Whether Recusants have not dependance upon his Mother and Father-in-law?

This was uncouth language to a Princes Ear; but who can expect that in so vast a Body and Mass of men, all parcels should take salt alike, and that no part should have rancidity in it? Yet perhaps this clamour and noise might be the rudeness of some few, newly admitted into that great School of Wisdom, the greater part continuing (it's possible) sincere and loyal; therefore the King sends Sir *Richard Weston* to them, requiring satisfaction: But the House was slower in the work, than was agreeable to his Majesties mind, so intent upon some severe Proceedings against them. Upon this he called the Lords and them together, and by the Lord-Keeper, his proper Speaker, thus conveys his displeasure to them; which being somewhat long, and afterwards the Kings Speech also to them, I shall refer you to the Book it self, *Page 24, 25, 26.*

The Commons nothing moved with those tart and vinacre expressions, kept close to their proper stations, and by way of Remonstrance replied: the which you may peruse *Page the 27th* of the same Author.

To the Remonstrance the King answered briefly, That he would have them, in the first place, consult about matters of the greatest importance, and that they should have time enough for other things afterwards.

But the Parliament accounted nothing of so great importance, as a vigorous proceeding against the Duke. In order to which, all encouragement is given by both Houses to any who would inform against him. The Earl of *Bristol* vigilantly listned for this call, and presently Petitioning the House, he might be admitted to prefer an Accusation against him; His request is readily granted. The Duke alarm'd with this Petition, Plots amain (and high time) either to divert or encounter him: He perswades the King to send the Earl a Premonitory-Letter, framed as a Memorial, minding him of all the miscarriages relating to the *Spanish Treaty*, and a Breviate of what became of his future charge; and demanding withal his positive Answer, Whether he would sit still from being questioned for any Errors past in his *Spanish Negotiations*, and enjoy the benefit of the Pardon granted by the late Parliament; or waving the advantage thereof, put himself upon a Legal Tryal.

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To this the Earl answered, That it became him not as a Subject to urge a Tryal against himself; but if His Majesty should call him to it, he would willingly submit, being confident his innocence would mediate for his future favour: As for the Pardon, he would not disclaim it, though he was confident he should not need it for any Crime of Disloyalty to His Majesty, or Treason against the State.

The King perceiving by this Reply the Earl resolved to persist, commanded the Attorney-General to Summon the Earl to the Lords Bar as a Delinquent, *May the 1st.* *Bristol* appearing, the Attorney told the Peers, That he came thither to accuse the Earl of High-Treason; with that the Earl said, My Lords, I am a Freeman, and a Peer of the Realm, untainted; I have somewhat to say of high consequence for his Majesties Service; I beseech your Lordships give me leave to speak: The Lords bidding him go on: Then, said he, I accuse that Man the Duke of *Buckingham* of High-Treason: the Articles of his Charge you may read *Page 28. ut supra.*

When the Earl had ended his Charge, up starts no upstart Lord, the Lord *Spencer*, Is this all (said he) you have to say against the Duke? The Earl replied, Yes my Lord, and I am sorry it is so much: Then quoth the Lord *Spencer*, if this be all, *Ridiculus Mus*; and so sat down again.

Upon this a Crotchet took the Lord *Cromwell* in the Crown, and out he goes to Mr. *Richard Spencer*, a younger Son of that Lord, and a great Zealot in the lower House against the Duke: *Dick*, said he, what is done in your House to day against the Duke? My Lord (said he) he is charged with no less than High-Treason: Tush *Dick*, quoth the Lord, High-Treason! if this be all, *Ridiculus Mus*.

This high and daring challenging by the Earl, prompted the Attorney to speed his Accusation against him; which having Modell'd into Eleven Articles, he brought in the next day, *Vide page 28. ut supra.*

The Commons having presented their Accusation, presently after sent a Message to the Lords, desiring that the Duke might be Committed; declaring, that it did mis-beseem their House to permit a man so deeply Impeacht to sit in Council with them.

The Court-party, who had nimble Intelligencers, understood this design from the very first result, and plotted to treat the Commons with uniform Proceedings; for at that very time Sir *Dudley Diggs*, and Sir *John Elliot* were sent for out of the House by two Messengers of the Chamber; who upon their coming forth, shewed them Warrants for their Commitment to the *Tower*; but it was resolved by the Judges, that by their restraint (no reason being given to the House for it) the whole House was arrested, and a Remonstrance was made to the King of their Priviledg; whereupon they were released.

The Commons having sped so well, the House of Peers began to claim their immunities; making an Order, that nothing should be transacted in their House, until the Earl of *Arundel* were restored; upon which instantly ensued the Earls Postlimination and re-admittance.

Popular disgust began now to break in upon the Duke, with such a running and sweeping-tide, as drew along with it, by way of Concomitancy, the Peerage; nor could his new Dependents and Allies keep the Balance Horizontal, and even much less sway it; and because his fate must

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result from them, but not by weight, but tale; the old Trick of the Council of *Trent* was thought upon, and a new Summons of Persons former Confidents to the Duke (as the Lords, *Mandevil*, *Grandison* and *Carlton*) into the row of Nobles.

But this project would not take; for the House of Lords found an ancient Order, That no Lords created *sedente Parlamento*, shall have Voices during that Session, but only shall have priviledg of sitting among the rest; upon which their suffrage was excluded.

This gave the Duke a taste (a bitter one) of their inclinations; so that finding but small favour to trust to, he magnanimously stood upon his Justification. And having his defence to his contentment, *June* the 8th, 1626, he presented it to the Lords; who upon receipt thereof, sequestred him from sitting any more as a Peer of the House, until his Cause was determined; whereupon he went away much dejected.

The Dukes Defence, and the Commons Impeachment being long, I shall not here insert, but refer you to the *Annals* it self, from whom I do transcribe this small Narrative.

This weighty Cause was managed by six Gentlemen, viz. Mr. *Glanvil*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Pim*, Mr. *Wansford*, Mr. *Sherland*, to whom was added Sir *Dudley Diggs* as Foreman and Prolocutor, and Sir *John Elliot* to bring up the rear.

Sir *Dudley Diggs* his Prologue, for the extraordinary Elegancy of the frame, and conciseness of his Metaphors, I shall crave leave to insert as it was delivered unto the Lords before the Gentlemen of the House of Commons did present the 13 Grievances, expressly this.

My LORDS,

There are so many things of great importance to be said in a very little time this day, that I conceive it will not be unacceptable unto your Lordships, if (setting aside all Rhetorical affectations) I only in plain Countrey language, humbly pray your Lordships favour to include many excuses, necessary to my many infirmities.

In this one word, I am commanded by the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses of the Commons House to present unto your Lordships their most affectionate Thanks for your ready condescending to this Conference; which out of confidence in your great Wisdoms, and approved Justice for the service of his Majesty, and the welfare of this Realm, they desired upon this occasion.

The House of Commons, by a fatal and universal concurrence of Complaints from all the Seabordering parts of this Kingdom, did find a great and grievous interruption and stop of Trade and Traffick: The base Pirates of *Sally* ignominiously infesting our Coasts; taking our Ships and Goods, and leading away the Subjects of this Kingdom into Barbarous Captivity, while to our shame, and hinderance of Commerce, our Enemies did (as it were) Besiege our Ports, and Block up our best Rivers Mouths, our Friends on slight pretences made Embargoes of our Merchants Goods, and every Nation (upon the least occasion) was ready to contemn and slight us: So great was the apparent diminution of the ancient Honour of this Crown, and once strong reputation of our Nation; where-

wherewith the Commons were more troubled, calling to remembrance, how formerly in *France*, in *Spain*, in *Holland*, and everywhere by Sea and Land, the Valours of this Kingdom had been better valued; and even in latter times, within remembrance, when we had no Alliance with *France*, none in *Denmark*, none in *Germany*, no Friend in *Italy*, in *Scotland*, to say no more, united *Ireland*, not settled in peace, and much less security at home; when *Spain* was as ambitious as it is now under a King (*Philip* the Second) they called their Wifely; the House of *Austria* as great and Potent, and both strengthened with a Malicious League in *France* of persons ill-affected, when the *Low-Countries* had no being; yet by constant Councils, and Old *English* ways, even then that *Spanish* pride was cool'd, that greatness of the House of *Austria*, so formidable to us now, was well resisted, and to the United Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, such a beginning, growth and strength was given, as gave us Honour over all the Christian World.

The Commons therefore wondring at the evils which they suffered, debating of the causes of them, found they were many, drawn like one Line to one Circumference of Decay of Trade and Strength, of Honour and Reputation, in this Kingdom, which as in one Centre, met in one great man, the cause of all, whom I am here to name, the Duke of *Buckingham*.

Here Sir Dudley Digges made a stand, as wondring to see the Duke present; yet he took the Roll, and read the Preamble to the Charge, with the Duke's Titles, which I shall here, for the Readers Satisfaction, insert, and so proceed.

For the speedy Redress of the great evils and mischiefs, and of the chief causes of those evils and mischiefs, which this Kingdom of *England* now grievously suffereth, and of late years hath suffered, and to the honour and safety of our Sovereign Lord the King, and of his Crown and Dignities, and to the good and welfare of his People; The Commons in this present Parliament, by the Authority of our Sovereign Lord the King assembled, do by this their Bill, shew and declare against *George*, Duke, Marquess, and Earl of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Coventry*, Viscount *Villers*, Baron of *Whaddon*, Great Admiral of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and of the Principality of *Wales*, and of the Dominions and Islands of the same; of the Town of *Calais*, and of the Marches of the same, and of *Normandy*, *Gascony*, and *Guyen*: General Governor of the Seas and Ships of the said Kingdoms, Lieutenant-General, Admiral, Captain-General, and Governor of his Majesties Royal Fleet and Armado, lately set forth. Master of the Horse of our Sovereign Lord the King, Lord Warden, Chancellor, and Admiral of the Cinque-Ports, and of the Members thereof, Constable of *Dover-Castle*, Justice in Eyre of all Forests and Chases on this side of the River of *Trent*, Constable of the Castle of *Windsor*, Lieutenant of *Middlesex* and *Buckinghamshire*, Steward and Bayliff of *Westminster*, Gentleman of his Majesties Bed-Chamber, and one of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, in his Realms both of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter.

The Preamble
to the Im-
peachment a-
gainst the
Duke of Buck-
ingham.

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The Misdemeanors, Misprisons, Offences, Crimes, and other matters comprized in the Articles following : And him the said Duke do Accuse and Impeach of the said Misdemeanors, Misprisons, Offences and Crimes.

And now my Lords,

This lofty Title of this mighty man, methinks doth raise my Spirits to speak with a *Paulo majora canamus* ; and let it not displease your Lordships, if for Foundation I compare the beautiful Structure and fair Composition of this Monarchy, wherein we live, to the great work of God, viz. the World it self, in which the solid Body of incorporated Earth and Sea, as I conceive in regard of our Husbandry, Manufactures, and Commerce by Land and Sea, may well resemble us the Commons; and as it is encompassed with Air and Fire, and Spheres Celestial of Planets, and a Firmament of fixed Stars, all which receive their heat, light, and life, from one great glorious Sun, even like the King our Sovereign, so that Firmament of fixed Stars I take to be your Lordships; those Planets, the great Officers of the Kingdom; that pure Element of Fire, the most Religious, Zealous, and Pious Clergy; and the Reverend Judges, Magistrates, and Ministers of Law and Justice, the Air wherein we breathe, all which encompass round with cherishing, comfort this Body of the Commons, who truly labour for them all; and though they be the Footstool and the lowest, yet may well be said to be the settled Centre of the State.

Now (my Lords) if that glorious Sun by his powerful Beams of Grace and Favour, shall draw from the bowels of this Earth an Exhalation, that shall fire, and burn, and shine out like a Star, it needs not be marvell'd at, if the poor Commons gaze and wonder at the Comet, when they feel the effects, and impute all to the corruptible matter thereof: But if such an imperfect Meteor appear, like that in the last Age, in the Chair of *Cassiopea*, among the fixed Stars themselves, where *Aristotle* and the old Philosophers conceived there was no place for such corruption; then as the learned Mathematicians were troubled to observe the irregular motions, the prodigious magnitude, and the ominous Prognosticks of that Meteor, so the Commons when they see such a Blazing-Star in course so exorbitant in the affairs of this Common-wealth, cannot but look up upon it, and for want of Perspectives commend the nearer examination to your Lordships, who may behold it at a better distance. Such a prodigious Comet the Commons take this Duke of *Buckingham* to be, against whom and his irregular ways, there are by learned Gentlemen legal Articles of Charge to be delivered to your Lordships, which I am generally first commanded to lay open,

The Meteor in 1680. is worth your observation upon this very account.

And so the Commons do the Duke of York now, & cum multis aliis, &c. Anno Domini, 1680 and 1681. and will doubtless several more, when they shall meet & sit to redress the present Grievances of the Nation.

First, The Offices of this Kingdom, that are the Eyes, the Ears, and the Hands of this Common-wealth, these have been engrossed, bought, and sold; and many of the greatest of them holden even in the Dukes own hands; which severally and apart, gave in former times and ages sufficient content to the greatest Favourites, and were work enough for the wisest Councillors: By means whereof what strange abuses, what infinite neglects have followed? The Seas have been unguarded, Trade disturbed, Merchants

Merchants oppressed, their Ships, and even one of the Navy Royal by cunning practise, delivered over into foreign hands, and contrary to our good Kings intention, employed to the prejudice (I had almost said to the ruin) of Friends of our own Religion.

Next Honours (those most precious Jewels of the Crown) a Treasure inestimable, wherewith your Noble Ancestors (my Lords) were well rewarded for eminent and publick service in the Common-wealth at home, for brave exploits abroad, when covered all with dust and blood, they sweat in service for the honour of this Crown: What back-ways, what by-ways have been by this Duke found out, is too well known to your Lordships; whereas it was anciently the honour of *England* (as among the *Romans*) the way to the Temple of Honour was through the Temple of Virtue: But I am commanded to press this no further, than to let your Lordships know, one Instance may (perhaps) be given of some one Lord, compelled to purchase Honour.

Thirdly, As divers of the Dukes poor Kindred have been raised to great honours, which have been and are likely to be more chargeable and burdensome to the Crown; so the Lands, and Revenues, and Treasuries of his Majesty have been intercepted, and exhausted by this Duke and his Friends, and strangely misemployed with strange confusion of the Accompts, and overthrow of the well-established ancient Orders of his Majesties Exchequer.

The last of the Charges which are prepared, will be an injury offered to the Person of the late King of blessed memory, who is with God, of which (as your Lordships may have heard heretofore) you shall anon have farther information. Now upon this occasion, I am commanded by the Commons, to take care of the honour of the King our Sovereign that lives (long may he live to our comfort and the good of the Christian world) and also of his blessed Father who is dead, on whom to the grief of the Commons and their great distaste, the Lord Duke did, they conceive, unworthily cast some ill ordure of his own foul ways. Whereas Servants were anciently wont to bear (as in truth they ought) their Masters faults, and not cast their own on them undeservedly.

It is well known the King (who is with God) had the same power and the same wisdom before he knew this Duke; yea and the same affections too, through which (as a good and gracious Master) he advanced and raised some Stars of your Lordships Firmament, in whose hands this exorbitancy of Will, this transcendency of Power, such placing and misplacing of Officers, such irregular running into all by courses of the Planets, such sole and single managing of the great affairs of State, was never heard of.

And therefore only to the Lord Duke, and his own procurement, by mis-informations, these faults complained of by the Commons, are to be imputed.

And whereas for our most gracious Sovereign that lives, whose Name hath been used, and may perhaps now be for the Dukes Justification: The Commons know well, that among his Majesties most Royal Virtues, his Piety unto his Father, hath made him a pious nourisher of his Affections ever to this Lord Duke, on whom out of that consideration his Majesty hath wrought a kind of wonder, making Favour hereditary. But the abuse thereof must be the Lord Dukes own; and if there have been any

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commands, such as were or may pretend, his misinformations have procured them; whereas the Laws of *England* teach us, that Kings cannot command ill or unlawful things whenever they speak, though by their Letters Patents or their Seals: If the thing be evil, these Letters Patents are void; and whatsoever ill event succeeds, the Executioners of such Commands must ever answer for them.

Thus, my Lords, in performance of my duty, my weakness hath been troublesome unto your Lordships. It is now high time humbly to intreat your pardon, and to give way to a Learned Gentleman to begin against him a more particular Charge.

Sir *Dudley Diggs* his Prologue being ended, the Impeachment of the Commons it self was next read; the which, if you please, you may peruse *Page 40.* in the said Narrative before mentioned; with the Dukes Answer, Defence and Reply to every particular Article thereof.

The Answer of the Duke to his Impeachment, was a kind of a new Grievance to his Adversaries; for it being contrived, and so inlaid with modesty and humility, it was like to have a powerful influence towards the conversion of many, who expected a Defence of another and more disdainful spirit. Again, it seemed to instate him in impunity; and the Commons having charged him as they thought, through and through, loth they were to fall short of Victory: And now having pursued him with such vehemency, thought themselves worsted, should he now at the last make a saving game of it; wherefore resolved they were to ply him with a speedy Reply: But while they were hammering of it, the King sent them a Letter, demanding, without farther delay, their speedy producing their Bill of Subsidy to be passed; to which, to prevent their Dissolution, they immediately conformed. But first they had drawn up a Declaration of the same make and mind with their former Impeachment, of the miserable estate of this Kingdom, and not without some high Contests it was allowed by the House before the Bill of Subsidy: Whereupon his Majesty was so exceedingly incensed, as on the very next day, *June the 5th*, he Dissolved the Assembly, though the Lords sent four of their House unto him, beseeching him most earnestly, that he would permit them to sit but two days longer; but he answered, Not a Minute.

King Charles
his Second
Parliament
Dissolved.

Arundel and
Bristol con-
fined.

The same afternoon the Earl of *Bristol*, the Dukes grand Prosecutor, was committed to the *Tower*, and the Earl of *Arundel* confined to his own house. There came also forth from his Majesty a Proclamation, for Burning all the Copies of the Commons Declaration, made before the Parliaments Dissolution.

The King
charged with
Imprudence.

This Rupture of the Parliament, being supposed to issue from the Kings great affection to the Duke, I find him charged with deep imprudence, and high oversight, to hazard the Love of Millions for him only.

On *Monday*, before this doleful disaster, there happened a terrible and prodigious spectacle upon the *Thames*: The Water near *Lambeth-Marsh* began about Three of the Clock in the afternoon to be very turbulent;

bulent ; and after a while, arising like a Mist, it appeared in a Circular form about Ten yards Diameter, and about Ten foot elevated from the River. This Cataract, or Spout of Waters, was carried impetuously cross the River, and made a very furious Assault upon the Garden-Walls of *York-house* (where the Duke was then building his new Water-Stairs) ; at length, after a fierce attempt, it brake asunder, sending up a fuliginous and dusky smoak, like that issuing out of a Brewers Chimney, which ascended as high as was well discernable, and so vanished ; and at the very same instant there was in the City of *London* so dreadful a storm of Rain and Hail, with Thunder and Lightning, as a great part of the Church-Yard Wall of *St. Andrews Church* in *Holbourn* fell down ; and divers Graves being thereby discovered, many Coffins tumbled into the middle of the Channel.

Not long after this there fell out a difference between *England* and *France* ; and his Majesty, in process of time, being on every side on the losing hand, he was much distressed in mind, what course to take to discharge himself of those impendent Calamities ; should he call a Parliament, the time (whose every moment was precious unto him) would not permit to stay for their Convention ; and when met, should they prove (as it was odds they would) as Dilatory and disgustful as the former, he were in a worse condition than before. In this perplexed difficulty, at length his Council agreed to set that great Engine, his Prerogative, at work : Many projects were hammered on that forge, but they came all to small effect.

The King is
great want.

First, they moved for a Contribution, by way of Benevolence ; but this was soon dashed. Then a resolution was taken to advance the value of Coyn Two shillings in the pound ; but this also was soon argued down by *Sir Robert Cotton* : But that which the Council stuck closest to, was the issuing of a Commission, dated *October the 13th*, for raising almost Two hundred thousand younds by way of *Loan* ; and the more to expedite and facilitate this Levy, the Commissioners were instructed to represent to the Subject the deplorable estate of *Rochel*, then closely beleaguer'd by the Duke of *Guise* ; and if not speedily relieved, would fall irrecoverably into the hands of the Enemies of the Protestant Religion.

Raiseth mo-
ney by Loan.

These were plausible insinuations : For *Rochel*, though situated in another Countrey, yet was looked upon as in the same parallel Belief with us. And what will not men suffer for others of the same persuasion, especially when Fame reports them sufferers because of the same persuasion ?

But all would not smooth the asperity of this most Illegal Tax. *Rochel*, and all other Foreign Considerations must stand by, and aloof off, when homebred Liberty is disputed ; so thought the almost Majority of the Kingdom, who opposed it to *Durance*. Upon this account of refusal, Prisoners, some of the Nobility, and most of the prime Gentry, were daily brought in by scores, I might almost say by Counties ; so that the Council-Table had almost as much work to provide Prisons, as to supply the Kings necessities.

Many refuse.

This year Learning lost two Luminaries of the greatest Magnitude that ever this Nation enjoyed, viz. *Dr. Andrews*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Sir Francis Bacon*, Vicount *St. Albans*, Lord High Chancellor of *England*.

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The Commission of Loan not answering in its product his Majesties expectation, the Papists began now to plot their own advantage from the Kings wants; and under pretence of Loyalty, they of Ireland propounded to him, That upon consideration of a Toleration of their Religion, they would at their own charge furnish him with a constant Army of five thousand Foot and five hundred Horse. But this project to their great regret proved Dow-baked, the Protestants countermining them: For in the next Spring Doctor *Downham*, Bishop of *London-Derry*, Preaching before the Lord Deputy and the whole State, April 22. 1627. taking for his Text, *Luke 1. 74. That we being delivered from the hands of our Enemies, might serve him without fear.* In the midst of his Sermon, he openly read this Protestation, subscribed by the Archbishops and all the Bishops of that Kingdom.

1. *That the Religion of the Papists is Superstitious and Idolatrous.*
2. *Their Faith and Doctrine Erroneous and Heretical.*
3. *Their Church in respect of both, Apostatical.*

To give them therefore a Toleration, is to make our selves accessary to their abominations, and to the perdition of their Souls.

But to sell them a Toleration, is to set Religion to sale, and with that their Souls, which Christ hath redeemed with his most precious blood.

The Bishop having ended this Protestation, added: *And let all the People say Amen,* which they did so as the Church almost shook with the noise. The Deputy required of the Bishop a Copy of both his Sermon and Protestation, who answered he would most willingly justify it before his Majesty, and feared not to read it.

And now although moneys came in but slowly, yet was the Naval Force completed for expedition about Midsummer; whereof the Duke appeared Admiral; as ambitious of some meritorious service to earn a better gust, or to correct the universal odium against him.

June the 27th he set Sail from *Portsmouth* with about six thousand Horse and Foot; and July the eleventh he published a *Manifesto*, declaring the impulsive causes of his Majesties present Arming.

But the Duke had very ill success in this expedition; for the English were routed at the Isle of *Rhe*: the sum of their loss were about fifty Officers (but the greatest loss was that gallant man, Sir *John Burroughs*, who was slain by a Musquet Bullet from the Citadel, while he was viewing the English works;) of Common Soldiers few less than two thousand, Prisoners of Note thirty five, Colours taken forty four, hung up as Anthems at *Paris* in the Church of *Nostredame*, our Honour lost. The Prisoners *Lewis* graciously dismiss home, as an affectionate offertory to his Sister the Queen of *England*; which made up another Victory superadded to the former, and a conquest over us as well in the exercise of civilities, as in feat of Arms; only the Lord *Montjoy* was ransomed, for the which he offering to the French King a round sum; *No my Lord*, it is said the King replied, *your Redemption shall be only two couple of Hounds from England*: Some interpreted this a slender value of that Lord, to be exchanged for a couple of Dogs; but it was only in the King a modest estimate of his courtesie.

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The English
routed at the
Isle of *Rhe*.

The *Rochellers* being besieged by the *French King*, in their distress hurrieth and ferrieth over their Deputies to *England* to solicit our King for fresh supplies, before the prodigious work should be compleated; who (good Prince) affected with their Miseries, and desirous rather to protect them from being slaves, than to enable them to be Masters, condescended to assure them of what assistance he could make.

The *Rochellers*
crave our
Kings aid.

But, alas! what could his assistance signifie, who was as necessitous as themselves? Did they want Men, Ammunition-Ships? So did he, seeing he wanted that which was all these, Money; and how, and where should that be had? His last borrowing Commissions, was a course so displeasing to the Subject, as would not admit of repetition, and it would prove an odd payment of that Loan arrears, to demand another: But the King was now the Subject of a greater Potentate than himself, Necessity; and this Necessity put him upon several projects: First he borroweth of the Common-Council of *London*, One hundred and twenty thousand pounds; for which, and other debts, he assures unto them Twenty-one thousand pounds *per annum* of his own Lands: and of the *East-India Company* Thirty thousand pounds; and yet he wants. Next, Privy-Seals are sent out by Hundreds, and a new way of Levy by Excise, resolved to be executed by Commission, Dated the 3^d of *February*; and yet he wants: but the best and most taking project of all, was a Parliament; whereby he hoped not only to supply his necessities, but also to give some better repose to his troubled spirit; for he felt no inward contentment, whilst he the Head and the Body were at a distance, or like interfects and flies, tackt together by a Mathematical line, or imaginary thread; therefore he seriously resolved for his part to frame and dispose himself to such obliging complacency and compliance, as might re-consolidate, and make them knit again.

This Parliament was Summoned to meet on the 17th of *March*, 1627; King Charles and the Writs being issued out, the *Loan-Recusants* appeared the only men in the Peoples affections; none thought worthy of a Patriots title, but he that was under restraint upon that account; so that the far greater number of the Parliament was formed of them: And as their Sufferings had made them of Eminent remark for Noble Courage, so did they for External respects appear the gallantest Assembly that ever those Walls immured; they having Estates modestly estimated, able to buy the House of Peers (the King excepted), One hundred and eighteen, thrice over. Thus were all things strangely turned in a trice topside t'other way: they who lately were confin'd as Prisoners, are now not only free, but petty Lords and Masters, yea, and petty Kings.

King Charles
his Third
Parliament
assembled,
March 17.
1627.

Some few days before this Session, a notable discovery was made of a Colledge of *Jesuits* at *Clerkenwell*. The first Information was given by one *Crossi*, a Messenger to Secretary *Coke*, who sent a Warrant to Justice *Long*, dwelling near enjoyning, to take some Constables, and other aid with him, and forthwith to beset the house, and apprehend the *Jesuits*; entring at first dooz, they found at stairs-foot a Man and a Woman standing, who told them, My Masters, take heed you go not up the stairs, for there are above many resolute and valiant Men, who are well provided with Swords and Pistols, and will lose their lives rather than yield; therefore if you love your lives, be gone. The Constable took their counsel,

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and like cowardly Buzzards went their way, and told Secretary Coke the danger; whereupon the Secretary sent the Sheriff to attack them, who coming with a formidable Power, found all withdrawn and sneakt away; but after a long search, their place of security was found out, it being a Lobby behind a new Brick-wall, Waincoated over; which being demolished, they were presently unkenneled, to the number of Ten. They found also divers Letters from the Pope to them, empowering them to erect this Colledge under the name of *Domus Probationis* (but it proved *Reprobationis*) *Sancti Ignatii*; and their Books of Accounts, whereby it appeared they had Five hundred pounds *per annum* contribution from their Benefactors, and had likewise purchased Four hundred and fifty pounds *per annum*; they had a Chappel, Library, and other Rooms of necessary accommodation, with Household-utensils and implements marked † S. What became of these *Jesuits*, will fall in afterward: and what would have become of the Secretary for his double diligence in their prosecution, you should have heard, had not the Duke been cut off by an untimely end to himself, but timely to the Popular Gust.

The Parliament being met, the King began thus to them:

My Lords and Gentlemen!

The Kings
Speech.

THese times are for Action: for Action I say, not for Words; and therefore I shall use but few; and (as Kings are said to be Exemplary to their Subjects) I wish you would imitate me in this, and use as few, falling upon speedy consultation. No man is, I conceive, such a stranger to the Common Necessity, as to expostulate the cause of this Meeting, and not to think Supply to be the end of it: And as this Necessity is the product and consequent of your advice; so the true Religion, the Laws and Liberties of this State, and just defence of our Friends and Allies, being so considerably concern'd, will be, I hope, arguments enough to persuade supply: For if it be, as most true it is, both my Duty and yours to preserve this Church and Commonwealth, this exigent time certainly requires it. In this time of Common danger I have taken the most ancient, speedy, and best way for supply, by calling you together; if (which God forbid) in not contributing what may answer the Quality of my occasions, you do not your Duties, it shall suffice I have done mine, in the conscience whereof I shall rest content, and take some other course, for which God hath empower'd me to save that which the folly of particular men might hazard to lose.

Take not this as a Menace (for I scorn to threaten my Inferiors), but as an Admonition from him who is tyed both by Nature and Duty, to provide for your preservations: And I hope, though I thus speak, your Demeanors will be such as shall oblige me in thankfulness to meet you oftener, than which nothing shall be more pleasing to me.

Remembring the distractions of our last Meeting, you may suppose I have no confidence of good success at this time: but be assured, I shall freely forget and forgive what is past, hoping you will follow that sacred advice lately inculcated, To maintain the Unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

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The Parliament seemed at first exceeding prompt to close with the Kings desires, and as complyingly disposed as could be wished; but they had not forgot the many pressures, which made the subject groan; something they must do for them who sent, as well as for him who called them thither; and to anticipate all manner of dispute in point of Precedence, between the Subjects grievances, and the Kings supplies, they make an order that both should proceed *pari passu*, cheek by jowl.

Upon full consideration of the Kings wants, they presently and cheerfully agreed to give him five Subsidies, whereof Secretary *Coke* was the first Evangelist, and Porter of that good news to the King, who received it with wondrous joy, and asked the Secretary by how many Voices it was carried? Sir *John* replied, but by one: At which perceiving the Kings countenance to change; Sir, said he, your Majesty hath the greater cause to rejoyce; for the House was so unanimous therein, as that they made but one voice; whereupon the King wept, and bad the Secretary tell them, He would deny them nothing of their Liberties, which any of his Predecessors had granted.

The Parliament grant liberally.

The stream of affairs running thus smoothly, without the least wrinkle of discontent on either side; the House of Commons first insisted upon the Personal Freedom of the People, and resolved for Law, That no Freeman ought to be imprisoned, either by the King or Council, without a legal Cause alledged. This opinion of the House was reported to the Lords, at a Conference by Sir *Edward Coke*, Sir *Dudley Diggs*, Mr. *Selden*, and Mr. *Littleton*; Sir *Dudley Diggs* citing *Acts 25. vers. 27*. It seemeth an unreasonable thing to send a Prisoner, and not withal to signify the Crimes laid against him.

The Subjects Liberty under debate.

This business stuck very much in the Lords House, who were willing that the Nails should be pared, not the hands tyed of the Prerogative; several and great Debates there were about it. The Attorney pleading eagerly (though impertinently) for the King; and the ancient Records were so direct for the People, and so strongly enforced, as the Attorney had no more to say, but only, I refer my self to the Judgment of the Lords; and when these Lords were to give Judgment concerning it, the Ducal, or Royal party (for they were both one) were so prevalent, as they who leaned the other way, durst not abide the Tryal by Vote; but calling the Lord-Keeper down, moulded the House into a Committee, until the Lord *Say* made a motion, That they who stood for the Liberties (being effective about fifty) might make their Protestation; and that to be upon Record: And that the other opposite party should also with Subscriptions of their Names, enter their Reasons, to remain also upon Record, that so Posterity might not be to seek who they were, who so ignobly betrayed the Freedom of our Nation; and that this done, they should proceed to a Vote: At which the Court-party were so daunted, as that they durst not mutter one syllable against it.

The Lords, nice in the business.

Personal Liberty being thus settled; next they fall upon Liberty of Goods, the unbilleting of Soldiers, and nulling of Martial-Law in times of Peace; and finding *Magna Charta*, and six other Statutes explanatory of it, to be expressly on their side, they petitioned the King to grant them

them the benefit of them; whereupon he declared Himself, by the Lord-Keeper, unto them *in his Verbis* :

‘That He did hold the Statutes of *Magna Charta*, and the six other in-
‘gisted upon for the Subjects Liberty, to be all in force; and assured them,
‘that he would maintain all his Subjects in the just freedom of their Per-
‘sons, and safety of Estates; and that he would govern according to the
‘Laws and Statutes of the Realm; and that his People should find as
‘much security in his Royal Word and Promise, as in any Laws they
‘could make; so that hereafter they should have no cause to complain;
‘and therefore he desired no doubt nor distrust might possess any man,
‘but that they would proceed speedily and unanimously on with their
‘business.

This Message begat a new Question, Whether or no his Majesty should be trusted upon his Royal Word? Some thought it needless, because of his Coronation-Oath, binding him to maintain the Laws of the Land: That Oath was as strong as any Royal Word could be. Others were of opinion, That should it be put to Vote, and carried in the Negative, it would be infinitely dishonourable unto him in Foreign parts, who would be ready to say, The People of *England* would not trust their King upon his Royal Promise.

At length, in the height of this Dispute, stands up Sir *Edward Coke*, and thus informed the House: We sit now in Parliament, and therefore must take his Majesties Word no otherwise than in a Parliamentary-way; that is, The King sitting on his Throne in his Royal Robes, his Crown on his Head, his Scepter in his Hand in full Parliament, both Houses being present, all these Circumstances observed, and his Assent being entred upon a Record, make his Royal Word the Word of a King in Parliament, and not a word delivered in a Chamber, or at second hand by the mouth of a Secretary or Lord-Keeper; therefore his Motion was, That the House should (*More Majorem*) according to the custom of their Predecessors, draw a Petition (*De Droit*) of Right to His Majesty; which being confirmed by both Houses, and assented unto by the King, would be as firm an Act as any.

The Petition
of Right pre-
sented by this
Parliament.

This Judgment of so great a Father in the Law, at this time ruled all the House, and accordingly a Petition was framed, and at a Conference presented unto the Lords, the substance whereof (after the recital of several Statutes relating to the Privilege of the Subject) was reduced to four Heads.

The Petition being presented to his Majesty after two several Answers thereunto (which did not please the Parliament), he did the third time give them this Answer (the Petition being read) thereunto.

Le droit soit fait comme il est desire. This I am sure is full, yet no more than I granted you in my first Answer: you see now how ready I have shewed my self to satisfy your Demands, so that I have done my part; wherefore if this Parliament have not an happy conclusion, the sin is yours, I am free.

The King having ended, the Houses testified their joy with a mighty shout, and presently the Bells rung, and Bonfires were kindled all the City over: Nor was the true cause so distinctly known; for many apprehended at first, that the King had delivered the Duke up to them to be

he sent to the *Tower* ; on which misprision, some said the Scaffold on *Tower-hill* was instantly pulled down ; the People said his Grace should have a new one.

It is said that the House of Lords made Suit to the King upon this happy accord, That he would be pleased to receive into Grace those Lords who were in former disfavour ; which he readily yielded unto : And admitted the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, the Earls of *Essex*, *Warwick*, *Bristol*, and the Lord *Say* to kiss his hand.

The Petition thus granted, the Commissions of Loan and Excise were instantly out-lawed, and at the entreaty of the House of Peers, cancell'd in the Kings presence.

Having thus secured the faults, they removed the faulty, and resolved upon a large Remonstrance to the King, ripping up the Grievances themselves, and the Authors of them. This Remonstrance consisted of six Branches, in sum these.

1. The danger of Innovation and Alteration in Religion : This The Parlia-
occasioned by, 1. The great esteem and favour many Professors of ments Remon-
the *Romish* Religion receive at Court. 2. Their publick resort to strance.
Mals at *Denmark-house*, contrary to his Majesties Answer to the
Parliaments Petition at *Oxford*. 3. The Letters for stay of Pro-
ceedings against them. Lastly, The daily growth of the *Arminian*
Faction, favoured and protected by *Neal* Bishop of *Winchester*, and
Laud Bishop of *Bath-and-Wells*, whilst the Orthodox party are
silenced, or discountenanced.

2. The danger of Innovation and Alteration in Government, oc-
casioned by Billeting of Soldiers, by the Commission of procuring
One thousand *German*-Horse, and Riders, for the defence of the
Kingdom, by a standing-Commission granted to the Duke to be General
at Land in times of Peace.

3. Disasters of our Designs, as the expedition to the Isle of *Rhe*,
and that lately of *Roche*, wherein the English have purchased their
dishonour with the waste of a Million of Treasure.

4. The want of Ammunition, occasioned by the late selling away of
36 Last of Powder.

5. The decay of Trade, by the loss of Three hundred Ships taken
by the *Dunkirkers* and Pirates within these three last years.

6. The not Guarding the Narrow Seas, whereby his Majesty hath al-
most lost the Regality.

Of all which Evils and Dangers, the principal cause is the Duke of
Buckingham, his excessive power, and abuse of that power ; and
therefore they humbly submit it to his Majesties Wisdom, whether it
can be safe for Himself, or his Kingdom, that so great Power should be
trusted in the hands of any one Subject whatsoever.

This Remonstrance being finished on *Tuesday June the 17th*, they pre-
sented it as an Appendix, with a Bill of Subsidies, to the King in the Ban-
queting-
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queting-house ; who having heard it out, He told them, That he little expected such a Remonstrance, after he had so Graciously passed the Petition of Right : As for their Grievances, he would consider of them, as they should deserve. Some say, that at his passing out, the King gave the Duke his hand to kiss, which others only suppose was no more than the Dukes low congy to his Majesties hand.

It is also reported, That the King being informed that Mr. *Denzil Hollis* had an hand in this Remonstrance, he replied in the words of *Julius Caesar*, *Et tu Brute*, I wonder at it ; for we two were fellow-Revellers in a Masquerade.

Three days before this Dr. *Manwaring* was questioned for some Seditious passages in two Sermons preached, one before the King, and the other at his own Parochial Church ; wherein he asserted, *viz.*

1. That the Kings Royal Command in imposing, without common consent in Parliament, Taxes and Loans, doth so far bind the Conscience of the Subjects of this Kingdom, that they cannot refuse the payment of them without peril of Eternal damnation.
2. That the Authority of Parliament is not necessary for the raising of Aids and Subsidies.

These things being too evident to be denied, and too gross to admit of qualification ; his Sentence was,

1. Imprisonment during the pleasure of the House.
2. One thousand pound Fine to the King.
3. To make such submission and acknowledgment of his offence, as shall be set down by a Committee in Writing, both at the Bar of the Lords House, and at the House of Commons.
4. To be suspended for three years from the exercise of the Ministry.
5. To be disabled from ever Preaching at Court hereafter.
6. To be disabled for ever from having any Ecclesiastical Dignity, or Secular Office.
7. That as his Book is worthy to be burnt, so his Majesty may be moved to Grant a Proclamation for the calling of it in ; as also for the burning of it.

According to the third particular, of which Sentence two days after, he made his submission on his knees.

Whilst the Parliament was busie about this Doctor, the King was as busie about the late Remonstrance ; to which he formed a formal Answer, traversing and denying all their charge ; wherewith the Commons being somewhat irritated (for it was a smart one) fell downright upon another Remonstrance against Tonnage and Poundage : But the King was unwilling to hear of any more Remonstrances of that nature, and therefore resolved to frustrate it by Proroguing of the Parliament unto *October* the 20th. And *June* the 26. 1628, being the last of this Session, his Majesty calling both Houses together, before his Royal Assent to the Bills, delivered his mind unto them, as
you

you may read *Page* the 84th of the aforesaid Narrative.

The Parliament being thus Prorogued, the Commons were exceedingly Male-content ; for they desired only a Recess and Adjournment, whereby all matters then depending might be found in the same station and condition, as at their next meeting wherein they at present left them.

In this Month Dr. *Lamb*, a creature of the Dukes, commended to him by Bishop *Williams*, suffer'd for the testimony of a lewd conversation. Having been at a Play-house, at his return some boys began to affront him, and call him the *Dukes Devil* ; whereupon he hired some to guard him home ; and taking in at a Cooks shop, where he sup'd, the people watcht his coming out ; but he was so strongly guarded, as they durst not venture on him. Then he went to the *Windmill-Tavern* in *Lothbury* ; and at length coming forth, the tumult being much increased, gave the onset, and assaulted him, so as he was forced to take refuge in the next house ; but the enraged multitude threatned to pull down the house, unless *Lamb* were speedily delivered unto them : The Master of the House was a Lawyer, and fearing some sad consequence of this uproar, discreetly sends for four Constables to guard him out ; but the furious multitude flew at him in the midst of his Auxiliaries, struck him down ; and mauled him so, as that they beat out one of his eyes, and left him half dead upon the place.

Dr. *Lamb* : his
Exemplary
Death.

In this plight he was carried into the Counter in the *Poultry* (no other house being willing to receive him), where the next morning he changed this life either for a better, or for a worse.

On *August* the 23^d. following, the Duke of *Buckingham* (by one *John Felton*) was stabbed at *Portsmouth*, who being at breakfast with *Soubire* and others of principal quality, this *Felton* (sometimes a Lieutenant to a Foot-Company in the Regiment of Sir *John Ramsey*) who had but about a week before meditated the Act, but had not yet contrived the means, sneaks into the Chamber vigilantly to observe every opportunity serviceable for his purpose ; and finding the Duke ready to rise from the Table, he withdraws into an Entry through which the Duke was to pass, who coming by with Sir *Thomas Fryer* (to whom he declined his ear in the posture of attention) in the very instant of Sir *Thomas* his retiring from the Duke, *Felton* with a back blow stabbed him in the left side into the very heart, leaving the Knife, which was a Tenpenny Coustel, in his Body.

The Duke of
Buckingham
Murdered.

Some now thought, that though his Majesty disliked the mode of this great mans dispatch, yet with the thing he was well enough satisfied, as if Providence had thereby rid him of the Subject of his so great perplexity whom he could not preserve with safety, nor desert with honour ; but such as these were soon convinced of their error, when they observed how his Majesty did treat his relations with so intense respect.

But whatever satisfaction the King received thereby ; certain it is, the Common man was well enough pleased thereat : For though Christianity

stianity and the Law found the Act Murder, yet in vulgar sense it rather past for an Executioner of a Malefactor, and an Administration of that Justice, dispensed from Heaven, which they thought was denied on Earth: And because all those storms, or publick miscarriages, generated in the lower Region of the Parliament, had of late been terminated in him as their grand efficient; every man would now be wise, and forespeak fair weather and a sweet harmony between the King and his Subjects; but how truly, a few Months will discover.

November the 29th, Felton having been arraigned and found guilty at the Kings-Bench-Bar, suffered at Tyburn: His Confession was as sincere, and full of remorse as could be wished; the fact he much detested, and renounced his former error in conceiving it would be for his glory to sacrifice himself for his Countreys good. And whereas other Motives were suggested by report, he protested upon his Salvation, that he had no other inducement thereunto, than the Parliaments Remonstrance. His body was from thence transmitted to Portsmouth, and there hung in Chains.

The Parliament meet.

January the 26th, 1628, the Parliament meet again, who soon found they were like to have work enough; for Complaints came thronging in, especially against the Customers, for taking and distraining Merchants Goods for Tonnage and Poundage; which the King taking notice of, called them to the Banqueting-house, and told them, viz.

‘ That the occasion of that Meeting, was a complaint made in the
‘ lower House, for staying of some mens Goods, for denying Tonnage
‘ and Poundage; which difference might be soon decided, were his
‘ words and actions rightly understood: For if he did not take those
‘ Duties as an Appendix of his Hereditary Prerogative, and had declared he challeng’d them not of right, and only desired to enjoy them
‘ by the gift of his People; Why did they not pass the Bill, as they
‘ promised to him, to clear his by-past actions and future proceedings,
‘ especially in this his time of so great necessity.

‘ Therefore he did now expect they should make good what they
‘ promised, and put an end to all questions emergent from their
‘ delay.

The House of Commons said, That Religion is above Policy, God above the King; and that they intend to reform Religion, before they engage in any other consideration: Nor was it agreeable to the Liberty of Consultation, to have their Transactions proscribed; so that they would at present lay aside the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, till they thought convenient: and they were as good as their words. For the first thing they resolved upon, was the appointment of Committees (which the Courtiers called an Inquisition), one for Religion, another for Civil Affairs; and these to represent the abuses in both.

The

The Abuses then in the Church, and likewise in the State, as represented to the Commons by their Committees, you may read at large; Page 97, 98, 99, 100, 101. in the said Narrative.

But the distempers continued so long, and with so quick and high a pulse, as the King having every day notice of them, He forthwith sent for the Serjeant of the Mace, but the House would not permit him to depart; but taking the key of the door from him, gave it to Sir *Miles Hobart*, a Member of the House, to keep: The King deeply incensed at these Exceedings of contempt, sent *Maxwell*, Usher of the Black Rod, to Dissolve the Parliament; but neither he nor his Message would be admitted: Whereupon the King, much enraged, sent for the Captain of the Pensioners, and the Guard, to force an entrance: But this passion that shut out the King, yet let so much reason in, as perswaded them it was good sleeping in a whole skin; and understanding the Kings intentions, they suddenly voided the House.

Soon after this, the King came that very morning into the House of Lords, and making a short (though smart) Speech unto them, Com-manded the Lord-Keeper to Dissolve that Parliament.

The King having thus Dissolved this Parliament, or rather broke up School, those whom he now called *Vipers*, had not in the House of Commons spit up all their Malignity, but reserv'd some to disperse and dispose of in the Country, whereby an ill odour might be cast upon his Government, and the hearts of his People alienated from him. As an antidote therefore against that poyson, and to anticipate all misunderstanding, he speedeth out a Declaration, setting forth to all his Subjects the Motives perswading him to Dissolve the Parliament, and a breviat of all the Transactions in this and the former Session; withal, minding them in the close of all, that the Duke of *Buckingham* was decried while he lived, as the solitary cause of all bad events in former Parliaments; that he is dead, and yet the Distempers not in the least abated, which he takes as an argument that they were mistaken in the cause; and, that it was rather resident in some few Members of Parliament.

The King
sends forth
a Declara-
tion.

The King having, as he hoped, disabused his Subjects by his late Declaration; next intended to proceed severely against those who had offended him, and whose punishment he said he reserved to a due time upon this account; the 18th of this Month he sent for Ten of the late Members to appear at the Council-Table, viz. Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Selden*, Sir *Miles Hobart*, Sir *John Elliot*, Sir *Peter Hayman*, Mr. *Stroud*, Mr. *Coriton*, Mr. *Valentine*, Mr. *Long*, Mr. *Kirton*: These appearing, Mr. *Hollis* was interrogated, Wherefore (contrary to his former use) he did the morning the Parliament was Dissolved, place himself by the Chair, above divers of the Privy-Councillors?

K

He

He answered, That he had some other times as well as then, seated himself in that place; and as for his sitting above the Privy-Councillors, he took it to be his due in any place whatsoever (unless at the Council-Board); and for his part, he came into the House with as much zeal for his Majesties Service, as any one whatsoever; and yet nevertheless finding his Majesty was offended with him, he humbly desired that he might rather be the subject of his mercy, than of his power. To the which the Lord Treasurer answered, You mean rather of his Majesties Mercy than of his Justice.

Mr. *Hollis* replied, I say of his Majesties Power, my Lord.

Sir *John Elliot* was next called in, who was questioned for words he spake in the lower House of Parliament, and for producing the late Remonstrance.

To this he answered,

That whatsoever was said or done by him in that place, and at that time, was performed by him as a publick Man, and a Member of that House, and that he was and ever will be ready to give an account of his Sayings and Doings in that place, whenever he should be called unto it by that House; where (as he taketh it) he is only to be questioned; and in the mean time being now but a private man, he would not now trouble himself to remember what he said or did in that place, as a publick Man.

Sir *Miles Hobart* was also questioned for locking the Parliament House Door, and putting the Key in his Pocket; to which he pleaded the Command of the House.

The other Gentlemen were questioned for reproving the Speaker, and not permitting him to do that the King commanded him, who all alledged in defence the Priviledg of the House.

After this they were committed some to the Tower, and some to the Gatehouse, and some to the Fleet: And *May* the first, the Attorney sent a Process out against them to appear in the Star-Chamber, and to answer an information to be entred there against them; but they refused as denying the Jurisdiction of that Court over offences done in Parliament, which created the greatest and longest Controversie in Law that had been started in many years.

Anno Domini,
1630.

April the tenth, dyed *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord High Steward of *England*, of an Apoplexy.

His Character

He was the very Picture and *vive Effigies* of Nobility; His Person rather Majestick than Elegant; his presence whether quiet or in motion, full

full of stately gravity; his mind generous and purely heroick; often stout, but never disloyal; so vehement an opponent of the Spaniard, as when that Match fell under consideration, he would sometimes rowze even to the trepidation of King James, yet kept in favour still; for that King knew well enough that plain dealing was a Jewel in all men, so in a Privy Councillor was an ornamental duty; and the same true-heartedness commended him to King Charles, with whom he kept a most admirable Correspondence; and yet stood the firm confident of the Commonalty, and not by a sneaking cunning, but by an erect and generous prudence, such as rendred him unsuspected of Ambition on the one side, or of Faction on the other.

This universality of Affection made his loss most deplorable, but men are lost when all turns to forgotten-dust: That affection would not that he should be so nonpluss'd, but kept his noble Fame emergent and aloft, and if this History shall bear it up, I shall esteem it not more his felicity than my own.

April the twenty fifth of this year, was Arraigned, Convicted, Con- Anno 1631.
demned, and on May the fourteenth Executed upon Tower-Hill, Mervin Lord Audley, Earl of Castle-Haven, for Rape and Sodomy.

In England fell two great Favourites of different parties, of the Com- Anno 1634.
monalties one, and of the Kings another: Of the Commonalties, Sir Edward Coke, who died about the latter end of this Summer; full of Sir Edward
days he died, most whereof he had spent in eminent place and honour. Coke depart-
His abilities in the Common Law, whereof he passed for an Oracle, eth this life.
raised him first to the dignity of Attorney-General to Queen Elizabeth, Then of Lord Chief Justice of the Kings-Bench under King James: His advancement he lost the same way he got it, viz. by his Tongue, so rare it is for a man very eloquent, not to be over loquent; long lived he in that retirement, to which Court-Indignation had remitted him, yet was not his recess inglorious, for at improving a disgrace to the best advantage, he was so excellent; as King James said of him, he was like a Cat, throw her which way you will she will light upon her feet. And finding a Cloud at Court, he made sure of fair weather in the Country, applying himself so devoutly to popular Interests, as in succeeding Parliaments the Prerogative felt him as her ablest; so her most active Opponent; upon which account he was in Caroli made High Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, on purpose to exclude him the ensuing Parliament; there being an especial *Nolumus* and clause in his Commission, prohibiting his Election; notwithstanding which Elected he was in Norfolk, and those words of Restraint upon the debate of the Question in the House of Commons, Voted void.

On the Kings, the Great Lord Treasurer Sir Richard Weston, Earl of Sir Richard
Portland, this year and he almost expiring together, he ending this life Weston Lord
March the thirteenth, a sad loss to the King, and the sadder because he Treasurer of
thought England dieth.

thought it irreparable. The truth is, he was a Person very able for the Office, and the Exchequer was in the mending hand, while he enjoyed that place; for he had a most singular Artifice, both in improving the incomes, and in a frugal moderation of his Masters expence. But the Kings sorrow was not so extreme for him, but the Peoples joy was full as great; for there was now grown so sad an antipathy between his Majesty and his Subjects, that like those two Emperors, *Antonine* and *Geta*, they were always of contrary Senses and Minds, rarely agreeing in any one particular. The deportment whereby he so much disoblighd the Commonalty, was his promoting Monopolies and other advantages of Regality.

The Archbishop and he were usually at great odds; this vacant place was at present entrusted to Commissioners, until the King should otherwise dispose thereof.

September the 29th, the Earl of *Arundel* brought up to *London*, out of *Shropshire*, one *Robert Parr*, as the wonder of our times for long life, he having attained to the age of near 160; and probably might have continued longer, had not so tedious a journey and over-violent agitation of his aged Body accelerated his end; so that it may be said, he sacrificed some years to others curiosity.

Anno 1637.
The great De-
bate about
Ship-money.

In *Michaelmas*-Term was canvassed and debated the grand Controversie between the King and Subject about Ship-Money; for the Ship-Writs having been issued out August the 11, to divers Counties, many Inhabitants, and among the rest Mr. *Hambden* of *Buckinghamshire*, assailed by the Sheriff, made default of payment; whereupon the King, equally hating to be either flattered into, or frighted from the belief of its Legality, wrote a Letter to the Judges, demanding their Opinions upon the case stated.

To which the Judges delivered their Opinions as followeth:

May

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

WE have, according to your Majesties Command, severally, and every Man by himself, and all of us together, taken into our serious consideration the Case and Questions signed by your Majesty, and inclosed in your Letter. And we are of opinion, That when the good and safety of the Kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole Kingdom in danger, Your Majesty may by Writ under your Great Seal of England, Command all the Subjects of this your Kingdom, at their charge to provide and furnish such number of Ships with Men, Victual, Munition, and for such time as your Majesty shall think fit, for the defence and safeguard of the Kingdom from such peril and danger: and that by Law your Majesty may compel the doing thereof in case of refusal or refractoriness. And we are also of opinion, That in such case your Majesty is the sole Judge, both of the danger, and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided.

John Bramston,
John Finch,
Humphrey Davenport,
John Denham,

Richard Hatton, George Vernon,
William Jones, Robert Barkley,
George Crook, Francis Crauly,
Thomas Trever, Richard Weston.

These Opinions being subscribed by all the Judges, and inrolled in all the Courts in *Westminster-Hall*, the King thought he had now warrant sufficient to proceed against all defaulters, and especially against Mr. *Hambden*; who being summoned by process, appeared and required Oyer of the Ship-Writs; which being read, he demurred in Law, and demanded the Opinion of all the Judges upon the Legal sufficiency of those Writs.

This great Case coming to be argued in the Exchequer, the Major part of the Judges delivered their Opinions in favour of the Writs, and accordingly gave Judgment against Mr. *Hambden*; yet did not the question altogether so repose; but Mr. *Hambden* observing some Judges, viz. *Crook* and *Hatton* of a contrary sense, held up the Contest still, though all in vain; all his inquietude not gaining him the least acquittal, until an higher Power interposed.

About the beginning of *January*, this year, dyed Sir *Thomas Coventry*, Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*; a Dignity he had Fifteen years enjoyed; if it be not more proper to say, That Dignity had enjoyed him so long; this latter affording not one every way of more apt qualifications for the place: His front and presence bespoke a venerable regard, not inferior to that of any of his Ancestors: His train and suit of followers was disposed agreeably to shun both envy and contempt; not like that of the Viscount *St. Albans*, or the Bishop of *Lincoln*, whom he succeeded, ambitious and vain: His port

Anno 1639.
Sir Thomas Coventry dyeth.

L

was

was State, theirs Ostentation; they were indeed the more knowing men, but their Learning was extravagant to their Office; of what concerned his Place he knew well enough, and which is the main, acted according to his knowledg; for in the administration of Justice, he was so erect and so incorrupt, as captious malice stands mute in the blemish of his fame; a miracle the greater, when we consider that he was also a Privy Councillor: A Trust wherein he served his Master the King most faithfully, and the more faithfully, because of all those Councils which in those times did so much deceive his Majesty, (and I pray God there were fewer at this juncture of time than there is) he was an earnest disswader, and did much disaffect those Sticklers, who rather laboured to make the Prerogative tall and great, as knowing that such men loved the King better than *Charles Stuart*: so that although he was a Courtier, and had for his Master a passion most intense, yet had he also always, of passion, some reserve for the publick welfare.

An Argument of a free, noble, and right principled mind; for what both Court and Country have always held as inconsistent, is in truth erroneous; and no man can be truly Loyal, who is not also a good Patriot, nor any a good Patriot, (the Ballance indispensably ought to be kept even) who is not truly Loyal.

To this worthy Gentleman succeeded Sir *John Finch*, formerly Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

An Embassy
dor from the
States of Hol-
land.

The Heer *Somerdick*, Ambassador from the States of *Holland*, in the Month of *January* had Audience of the King: He had with him Count *William of Nassau* and the *Rhine-Graue*, with a very splendid train; his business was to give his Majesty satisfaction concerning the late Attack made upon the *Spaniards* by the *Dutch Fleet* in the *Downs*, and the Embassy was sweetned by some overture of Marriage between the young Prince of *Orange* and the Kings Eldest Daughter.

A Parliament
sits in England
after near 12
years inter-
val, April
1646.

On the Thirteenth of *April*, A Parliament met and sate, and the Deputy of *Ireland* being not long before Created Earl of *Strafford*, and made Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, was lead into the upper House by two Noblemen, where he gave an account of his service in *Ireland*, where he had obtained the grant of four Subsidies for the maintenance of an Army.

Mr. *John Glanvil* was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, and generally the choice of Members to that House was so good, that great probabilities were given of a happy Union betwixt the King and the Parliament.

Some few days after, a Report was made to the Lords, by the Lord *Cottington*, (who with *Windebank* and the Attorney General, were sent by

by the King to the Lord *Lowden*, to examine him concerning a Letter before mentioned) that the Lord did acknowledge the Hand-Writing to be his, and that it was framed before the pacification at *Berwick*, and was never sent to the King, but only prepared in a readiness, should need require; and that it was suppressed upon that pacification; nevertheless it was thought fit he should continue in the same state, until clearer Evidence should be given either for or against him.

Soon after the King sent a message to the Lower House about Supplies, representing unto them the intolerable indignities and injuries wherewith the *Scots* had treated him; and withal declared unto them, that if they would assist him suitable to the exigency of his sad occasion, he would for ever quit his claim of Shipmoney, and into the bargain give them full content in all their just demands.

But they replied (as being somewhat deliberate in this affair of Money) that they expected first security from his Majesty in these three particulars, *viz.*

1. *For the clearing the Subjects Property.*
2. *For the Establishment of Religion.*
3. *For the Priviledg of Parliament.*

Many Conferences there was had between the Lords and Commons, as to this old Contest, which should precede: The Lords after a strong division among themselves, at length Voted for the King, and the Commons for the Subject. But it was not long before this unhappy difference was unhappily decided: For Secretary *Vane* who was employed to declare the particulars of the Kings desires, required twelve Subsidies, whereas it was said his express order was for only six; some there are who suspect this mistake to have been not involuntary, but industrious in him as to his Majesties service; but leaving that undetermined, the House of Commons was raised by this Proposition, to such animosity, as the King advising with his *Juncto*, their compliance was represented to him so desperate, as that *May* the fifth he ordered the Dissolution of the Parliament.

The Parliament dissolved, *May* the fifth, 1640. having sat about 3 weeks.

Thus expired this short-lived, or rather thus ended this still-born Parliament, (although we have had a much shorter, *Anno Domini* 1680.) A Parliament, I know not whether more unfortunate in beginning so late, or ending so soon: A Parliament which had Power (and probably Will) enough to impede the torrent of the late Civil War; for the breaches between the King and People were grown so high, as one might already discern all the lineaments of an Insurrection in *Embrio* (but by my Authors good leave, the wisest head could not foresee contingent actions; for who could foretell but that his late Majesty might have been advised by his Grand Council, and not by his Court

Court Favourites) whose abortion nothing could cause but a happy union in Parliament, a thing not very difficult, much less impossible at that time, had the King yielded to a detrenching some luxuriations of his Prerogative, to the reducing Episcopacy to its primitive institution, that is, to the frame by Divine Right (a Root which had not sap enough to maintain so spreading and flourishing a Top as was contended for) to a more frequent and sociable communication with the grand Representative. In short, so much fluent and spontaneous concessions as being resolved upon too late, were (in reference to his personal security) lost and thrown away in the ensuing Parliament, of the which we shall now very suddenly come to give a very succinct account as to their particular proceedings and transactions, and compare both these Parliaments together with those that have been assembled of late, *Anno Domini*, 1680. and 1681. And after that shall draw towards a conclusion, as I presume it will be high time, lest my *Multum in Parvo & Vox Veritatis*, should prove at the long run, *Vox Contradictionis*. But this only by the way.

Archbishop
Laud beset by
the Rabble, in
his House at
Lambeth.

And moreover the dissolution of this Parliament was ascribed (tho' perhaps wrongfully) to the advice of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; so that on the ninth of *May* a Paper was posted upon the Old Exchange, by one *John Lilburn*, exciting the Apprentices to rise and rife his House at *Lambeth* on *Monday* following; of which he having notice, made provision against them for his own defence; and many of them upon enquiry, having been actors therein, were apprehended and imprison'd in the White Lyon in *Southmark*, but within three days after some of their Complices got together, and came to the Prison and brake it open and set them free; yet nevertheless one of the chief Ringleaders was Taken, Arraigned, Condemned, and Drawn, Hanged, and Quartered, on the 21 of *May*.

The Convo-
cation sitteth.

This Convention was not more unhappily dissolved, than another was continued, that is, as a witty Gentleman said well, A new Synod made of an old Convocation; which by new Commissions from the King, were impowered to sit still, the Impulsives to it are very easily collected from what resulted from it, as you read more at large in the afore said Author, *Pape* 189.

The Parliament being blown away without affording any thing in nature of a supply to the Kings wants: All the wheels of the Prerogative are put into motion, to carry on the War against *Scotland*: First, the City of *London* were invited to a Loan; then all Knights and Gentlemen, who held Lands in *Capite* of the King, were summoned to send Men, Horses, and Arms, agreeable to their abilities.

In *September*, the Lords *Mandevil* and *Edward Howard*, delivered to the King, at *Tork*, this Petition.

To

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of Your Majesties most Loyal and most Obedient Subjects, whose names are underwritten, in behalf of themselves and divers others.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

THe Zeal of that Duty and Service which we owe to your Sacred Majesty, and our earnest affections to the good and welfare of this your Realm of England, have moved us in all humility to beseech your Royal Majesty, to give us leave to offer to your Princely wisdom the apprehension which we and others your faithful Subjects have conceived of the great distempers and dangers, now threatening the Church and State, and your Royal Person, and of the fittest means by which they may be removed and prevented.

The evils and dangers which your Majesty may be pleased to take notice of, are these, viz.

I. That your Majesties Sacred Person is exposed to hazard and danger in the present Expedition against the Scottish Army, and by occasion of this War, Your Majesties Revenue is much wasted, your Subjects (with Coat and conduct Money, Billetting of Souldiers, and other Military Charges, and divers Rapines and Disorders committed in several parts of this your Realm, by the Souldiers raised for that Service) and your whole Kingdom become full of fears and discontents.

II. The sundry Innovations in matter of Religion, the Oath and Canons lately imposed upon the Clergy, and other your Majesties Subjects.

III. The great increase of Popery, and the Employing of Popish Recusants, and others ill affected to the Religion by Laws Established; in places of Power and Trust, especially in commanding of Men and Arms both in the Field and sundry Counties of this your Realm; whereas by Law they are not permitted to have any Arms in their own Houses.

IV. The great mischiefs which may fall upon this Kingdom, if the intentions which have been credibly reported of bringing in Irish and Foreign Forces should take effect.

V. The urging of Ship-money, and prosecution of some Sheriffs in the Star-Chamber for not levying of it.

VI. The heavy charge upon Merchandize, to the discouragement of Trade, the multitude of Monopolies and other Patents, whereby the Commodities and Mannufactures of the Kingdom are much burthened, to the great and universal grievance of your People.

VII. The great grief of your People and Subjects, by long intermission of Parliaments, and the late and former Dissolving of such as have been called, without the happy effects which otherwise they might have produced.

For remedy whereof, and prevention of the Dangers that may arise to your Royal Person and to the whole State, they do in all humility and faithfulness beseech your Most Excellent Majesty, that you would

be pleased to Summon a Parliament within some convenient time, whereby the causes of these and other great Grievances, which your People lie under, may be taken away, and the Authors and Counsellors of them may be brought to such legal and condign punishment as the nature of their several offences shall require; And that the present War may be composed by your Majesty's wisdom, without Blood, in such manner as may conduce to the Honour and Safety of your Majesties Person, the the comfort of your People, and the uniting of both your Realms against the Common Enemy of the Reformed Religion.

*And your Majesty's Petitioners
shall ever pray, &c.*

*Concluded the 28th
of August, 1640.*

Francis Bedford	Warwick
Robert Essex	Bullingbrooke
Mulgrave	Mandevil
Say and Seal	Brook
Edward Howard	Pager
William Hartford	

The King's Answer.

BEfore the receipt of your Petition, His Majesty well foresaw the danger that threatens himself and Crown, and therefore resolved the 24th of this Instant, to Summon all the Peers, and with them to Consult, what in this Case is fittest to be done for his own honour and safety of the Kingdom, where they with the rest may offer any thing that may conduce to those ends.

According to this Resolution, the Lord-Keeper had Directions from the King to issue out Writs of Summons for their appearing at *Tork* on the day prefixt, which he punctually pursued.

Soon after the presenting of this Petition from the Lords, came another from the *Scots*, the substance whereof was a Desire, That His Majesty would call a Parliament, for settling a firm peace between the two Nations.

To this Petition the King replied, with signification of what he had ordered before, in reference to himself and to the welfare of both Kingdoms.

And the Truth of it is, it was high time for an Accommodation to be effected; for *Essex* now began to rant it in *New-Castle* and the parts adjacent, as *Brennus* did at *Rome*, with a *Va Victis*: He imposed a Tax of 350 pounds *per diem* upon the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and 300 pounds upon *Northumberland*, upon pain of Plundering; and yet permitted Soldiers to rife Houses, break open Shops, and act what insolencies they pleased; seized upon four great *English* Ships laden with Corn, as lawful prize, they not knowing in whose possession the Town was till they enter'd the Haven.

The first day of the Lords Assembling at *Tork*, it was resolved that a Parliament should be Summoned to convene at *Westminster*, *November* the

the Third. Then a Message was sent to the *Scots*, desiring a speedy Treaty at *York*. The *Scots* replied, They held that no place of security for their Commissioners, considering that the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who commanded His Majesties Army, was one who had proclaimed them Traytors in *Ireland*, before the King had done the same in *England*, and who had threatened to destroy their Nation both Root and Branch, and against whom, as a chief Incendiary of the late Troubles, they intended to complain; whereupon it was concluded, that the Treaty should be held at *Rippon*, which accordingly took place.

The Parliament now approaching, whose Convening was attended by this Kingdom with so much longing, such impatience of desires, as every moment which retarded it, was interpreted as a kind of Grievance to the Subject; for we began now to think, that nothing could make us a happy People but a Parliament, and that no Parliament could make us miserable. This was the Sence of the greater part of this Nation; and if this Parliament succeeded not adequate to some Mens Vote, perhaps the miscarriage of their hopes may be somewhat imputed to this Sence; Over-ruling Providence delights oft to order the Operations of free and natural Agents, counter to Mans Expectations, to teach us the vanity of that Faith which is founded upon Causes subaltern.

And oh! that I could here but express to the life, the high Expectations of the People from this Parliament, which came with such a terrible swing, after so long an Interval, and so many Dissolutions, that put the whole Nation into such a Consternation, as, I presume, the like President cannot be produced out of the Records of Antiquity, since *William the Conqueror* did first invade our *English* Territories.

But however (Courteous Readers) for your present Divertisement, I will here make a small Attempt, to express the present Thoughts and Expectations of that Parliament, which in process of time brake forth into a Civil War, (and I pray God I may never live to see the like again) the which I shall represent under the Emblem of a new, tight, and well-built Ship, which upon the Launching, was named, *The Bon Resolution*, (although some would have it called, *The House of Commons*, others, *The Three Estates*, and others, *The Swiftsure*) and was immediately employ'd in His Majesties Service, but being for some time wind-bound within the Harbor, (*viz.* about 12 days) the Captain of the said Ship coming early out of his Cabin one morning, and finding the Wind tackt about, and blowing fair for his intended Voyage, being upon the Quarter-Deck, he knocks up his Seamen, and salutes them after this manner: *viz.*

A Rise you Mortals, from your Dens of Sleep,
 Neptune now calls, to launch into the Deep;
 The Wind blows fair, it's lately turn'd South-west,
 And we must Sail directly to the East:
 For Pearls and Diamonds, Jewels of great Rate,
 Which in the Acquest, sometimes a broken Pate
 Hath been our Lot; yet still we venture must,
 You know our Shipwrights (wherein so great a Trust
 Is now repos'd in us, comes from Whitehall)
 Our late Commission; whence we may learn All

Which

Which way to steer our course, and will direct
 Whom we must crush; and whom we must protect
 In this our Voyage. 'Tis the Common-weal
 Of these Three Kingdoms, That a Roaring Peal
 Of Small and Great Shot now aloud must Ring
 From this our Vessel. To preserve the King
 In all His Legal Rights. But to advance
 Against all those, who have lead up a Dance,
 As will, in time, if Heavens do not prevent,
 Destroy both King, and all the Parliament,
 And in their stead set up a Scarlet Whore,
 Of whose sweet Nature we have long before
 Known by Experience, and now for to be cheated
 By their Sham-Plots again, and to be defeated,
 Huzza, Brave Lads! This thing shall never be,
 We'll rather chuse upon a Triple Tree
 To take our chance, and now Heavens crown the Event,
 And bless our Vessel, and our good Intent;
 Heavens bless us from the Sally Men of War,
 Heavens bless us likewise that we do not jar
 Among our selves. If such a thing should be,
 And that our Seamen now should disagree,
 And fight for Thimbles, Bodkins, and Gun-gaws,
 Instead of fighting for the Good Old Cause
 Of Liberty and Property. Oh! this Evil
 Would make us Zealots for the Pope and Devil,
 More than for Christs true Church, which now doth stand
 In danger much, if these should have Command
 Within our British Isle; which to prevent,
 God bless our King, and His next Parliament,
 Which now approacheth, whom we must defend.
 And so our Ship, the Lord Almighty send
 Into safe Harbor, when that we shall bring
 Peace to the Church, and Honor to the King;
 And when our Pearls and Diamonds shall arrive,
 We'll fix them fast upon King CHARLES his Hirc,
 His Crown shall glister like the Rising Sun.
 Courage, Brave Boys! Our Wars shall then be done,
 When we shall see those Fellows sent from hence,
 With all their Tories, to that place from whence
 They first did rise, which was from that Grand Syre,
 Who claims the Patent, to be the great Lyar
 And Forger of all Mischiefs, both in Church and State;
 But will, at length, get such a Broken Pate
 As will confound him, and his Holy Church,
 When as Old Nick shall leave him in the Lurch:
 To him I'll leave him, and his Tory Crew,
 And now proceed to what doth here ensue.

Tuesday,

Tuesday, Novemb. 3. being the day prefixt, and the Parliament assembled, His Majesty bespake them in these words:

My Lords,

THE knowledge that I have of the Scottish Subjects, was the cause of my calling of the last Assembly of Parliament, wherein if I had been believed, I do most sincerely think, that things had not fallen as We now see; but it is no wonder that men are so slow to believe, that so great a Sedition should be raised upon so little ground.

But now (My Lords and Gentlemen) the Honor and Safety of this Kingdom lying so heavily at stake, I am resolved to put My Self freely upon the Love and Affections of my English Subjects, as those of my Lords that waited upon me at York, very well remember, I there declared.

And had His Majesty kept close to this resolution, some think things had ne'er come to that extremity that afterwards they did.

Therefore (My Lords) I shall not mention Mine own Interest, or that Support I might justly expect from you, till the Common Safety be secured; though I must tell you, I am not ashamed to say, those Charges I have been at, have been meerly for the securing the good of this Kingdom, though the Success hath not been answerable to My desires: Therefore I shall only desire you to consider the best way for the Security of this Kingdom, wherein there are two things chiefly considerable:

1. The chasing out the Rebels.
2. That other in satisfying your just Grievances, wherein I shall promote you to concur so heartily and clearly with you, that all the World may see my intentions have ever been and shall be to make this a glorious and flourishing Kingdom.

There are onely two things more that I shall mention to you, the one is to tell you, That the Loan of Money which I lately had from the City of London, wherein the Lords that waited on me at York assisted me, will only maintain my Army for two months, from the beginning of that time it was granted. Now (my Lords and Gentlemen) I leave it to your Consideration, what Dishonour and Mischief it might be, in case for want of Money my Army be Disbanded before the Rebels be put out of this Kingdom. Secondly, The securing the Calamities the Northern People endure at this time, and so long as the Treaty is on foot: And in this I may say, Not only they, but all this Kingdom will suffer the harm; therefore I leave this also to your Consideration, for the ordering of the Great Affairs whereof, you are to Treat at this time. I am so confident of your Love to me, and that your Care is such for the Honour and Safety of the Kingdom, that I should freely leave to you where to begin. Only this, that you may know the better the State of all Affairs, I have commanded my Lord Keeper to give you a short and free Account of those things that have happened in this Interim, with this Protestation, That if his Account be not Satisfactory, as it ought to be, I shall, whensoever you desire it, give you a Full and Perfect Account of every Particular. One thing more I desire of you, as one of the greatest means to make this an Happy Parliament, That you on your part, as I on mine, lay aside Suspicion one of another, as I promised my Lords at York; It shall not be my Fault, if this be not a Happy and Good Parliament.

The King having ended, the Lord Keeper, in pursuance of His Majesty's Commands, gave them a Summary Account and Relation of all Things relating

relating to the Scottish Invasion, I dare not say *Rebellion*; for, that the King represented them under that Disgraceful Character, was very ill represented by some considerable Peers; whereof His Majesty having notice, told the Parliament two days after, *He must needs call them Rebels, so long as they have an Army that does invade England.*

The remainder of this Week was spent partly in settling Committees for General Grievances, and partly in set Speeches, Rhetorically declaiming against, and dissecting them.

The remainder of the particular Transactions of this year of the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, and of the year succeeding, 1641. I shall not here relate at large, but refer you to the Annals of King Charles the First, written by this ingenious Author (from whom I have borrowed and transcribed the major part of my precedent Relations) who ends at the Death of the Earl of *Strafford*, which was May the 12th, 1641. And after that, I must refer you for the remainder of that year unto Sir *Richard Baker's* Chronicle of the Kings of England, &c. But the particular heads of those Transactions, as to matter of fact, I shall be willing here to recite for your (Courteous Readers) present satisfaction in manner and form as followeth, viz.

1. Several Petitions against Grievances.
2. Priviledges of the Lords House Vindicated.
3. The Lieutenant of *Ireland* Impeached of high Treason.
4. The *Northern* Armies in want.
5. Bishop of *Lincoln* Enlarged.
6. Justice *Howard* assaulted by a Papist.
7. *Prinn* and *Bastwick* enter *London* in Triumph.
8. Secretary *Windebanck* flieth.
9. Votes against Ship-money.
10. The *London* Petition against Bishops.
11. The late Canons damn'd.
12. The Lord-Keeper *Finch* defends his Innocency.
13. He is Voted Traitor upon four Considerations, and thereupon he flyeth beyond Sea.
14. The Kings Speech for Bishops.
15. One *Goodman* a Priest reprieved.
16. A Remonstrance against *Goodman* the Priest.
17. The Kings Answer to that Remonstrance.
18. The *Scottish* Commissioners Demands, and the Answer thereunto.
19. A Match propounded between the Lady *Mary* and the Prince of *Orange*.
20. The Kings Speech to the Lords concerning that Match.
21. Some Plots of the Papists.
22. The Earl *Berkly* Impeacht of High-Treason.
23. The King passeth a Bill for Triennial Parliaments, and his Speech concerning it.
24. The Bill of Subsidies passeth at the same time, and Bonfires and other tokens of joy were made that night in the City of *London*, by Order of Parliament.
25. *William Laud*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, accused of high Treason in fourteen Articles.
26. The

26. The Lord Digbyes Speech for Episcopacy.
27. The Charge against the Earl of *Strafford* is given, and his Answer thereunto, and *Westminster-Hall* is appointed for his Trial.
28. The Commons justify their Charge by Law.
29. The Earl answereth by Counsel.
30. The Commons Vote him guilty of High-treason.
31. The Commons Petition the King against Papists, and the King's Answer.
32. The Kings Speech to the Parliament in defence of the E. of *Strafford*.
33. The Prince of *Orange* Marryeth the Lady *Mary*.
34. A Tumult in *Westminster* crying for Justice against the Earl.
35. A Protestation framed by the Commons.
36. A Bill propounded for the continuation of the Parliament.
37. The Earl of *Strafford* Voted by the Lords House guilty of High Treason.
38. Two Bills tendered to the King, who is much perplexed what Answer to return.
39. The Earl himself, by Letter desires the King to pass the Bill.
40. Censures upon the Kings passing the Bill for the Parliaments continuation.
41. The Kings Letter in behalf of the Earl to the House of Lords, and their answer thereunto.
42. The Earl brought to the Scaffold, and his last Speech before his Execution.
43. The Earls Character.
Here I must refer you at large to Sir Richard Baker, p. 411. &c.
44. The Earls Children restored to their Honour and Estates.
45. The Earls of *Hartford*, *Essex*, *Bedford*, *Warwick*, Lord *Say*, with some others, made Privy-Councillors.
46. The Lord Treasurer and other great Officers, resign up their places.
47. The Star-Chamber abolished, and the high Commission Court put down.
48. Ship-money relinquish'd by the King.
49. Five Judges for Ship-money Impeached of high Misdemeanours, and *Berkly* accused of high Treason.
50. Several Laws passed by the King for regulating abuses and disclaiming Priviledges.
51. The Treaty between the two Kingdoms confirmed.
52. The Earl of *Holland* made General of the *English* Army, and a Pole raised for the payment of them.
53. Both Armies are Disbanded, and the King takes a Journey into *Scotland*, and there confers honours upon several persons of that Kingdom.
54. A Bloody Rebellion breaks forth in *Ireland*.
55. *Owen O Conally*, an *Irish* Protestant, discovers the Plot, prevents the seizure of *Dublin Castle*.
56. The Earl of *Leinster* choseth Deputy of *Ireland*.
57. The *Irish* Rebellion occasioned by the insurrection in *Scotland*.
58. The King receives Intelligence of what hapned in *Ireland*, and sends

sends Sir *James Stuart* with instructions thither, and moves the Parliament of *Scotland* for Aid, which they Excuse.

59. The *Irish* pretend the Kings Commission for what they did, thereby to dishearten the *English*, and also feigned Letters, that the Parliament would compell them to Protestancy.

60. The *Irish* Rebels possess themselves of all strong places in *Ulster*.

61. They contrary to Articles of Surrender, Massacre the poor *English*, but save the *Scots*.

62. The Parliament of *England* designs Money for *Ireland*.

63. Forces raised to go against the Rebels.

64. The Earl of *Ormond* made Lieutenant-General of the Forces there.

65. A Regiment sent to *Ireland* under Sir *Simon Hartcourt*.

66. The King returns out of *Scotland*, and the Parliament present a Remonstrance to him at *Hampton-Court*, as also a Petition with the Remonstrance.

67. An Act published in *Scotland* against Levying Arms without the Kings Commission.

68. The King receives the Parliaments Petition, but desires them not to publish the Remonstrance.

69. The Remonstrance is Ordered to be published in all parts of the Kingdom, and the King answers the Petition, and Vindicates himself from the Aspersions of the Remonstrance.

70. The Commons pass a Bill for disabling all in Holy Orders to exercise temporal Jurisdiction.

71. The tumult upon the Lords slighting the Bill, comes to their House, and clamour against the Bishops, and some of the Commons justify those tumults.

72. The Lords sends a Writ directed to the Sheriffs and Justices to suppress those tumults.

73. Whereupon the Constables and Justices are sent for by the Commons.

74. The Bishops Protections against the actions of the Parliament, and they are charged with high Treason, and committed to the *Tower*, where they continued about four Months.

75. The Parliament Petition the King for a Guard.

76. The King denies the Petition, and chargeth *Kimbolton* and five Members more of the Commons with high Treason.

77. The Commons justify the accused Members.

78. The King comes to the House to demand the Delivery of the five Members, and the Commons Vote this a breach of Priviledge.

79. The King removes to *Hampton-Court*, and sends a Message to the Parliament.

80. The Commons Petition the King for the Militia to be put into their hands.

81. The Queen accompanies the Princess *Mary* into *Holland*, and the King removes to *Tork*, and there issues out Commissions of Array. And so, *Finis Coronat Opus*, I have proceeded to the last day of 1641. For I find *March 28. 1642*. The King and Parliament differ about who shall be chief Commander at Sea; where I am willing to leave them, and dare not launch out any farther, as to the Merits of the Cause.

And

And now in the close of all, if you will please to give me leave faithfully to examine and compare together the Transactions, Principles, and Practices of the Commons of *England* (in particular, as being Assembled in Parliament) *Anno Domini* 1640, and 1641, as also *Anno Domini* 1680, and 1681. (whose Transactions, Debates, and Speeches, are all so lately Printed, that I need not here insert the Particulars, but refer you unto the Debates themselves) And I do clearly find the same English Spirit, so far as 1641. (pray take notice I proceed no further in this *Multum in Parvo*) runs almost exactly Parallel with the present years of 80, and 81. And when you have perused and seriously considered them within your selves, I do presume (and am very apt to conjecture) that you who are of a sober mind, and wish from your Heart and Soul all Peace, Prosperity, and Happiness to your King and Country, That you will say with me, That although they are not enough to satisfy and silence an high Tory and bloody Papist, yet they are Arguments and Demonstrations strong enough in Conscience to convince any Atheist in his sober mind, of the Reality and good Intentions (against Popery and Slavery, many times slyly introduced by some unworthy Sycophants, and corrupt Ministers of State) of the before-mentioned precedent Parliaments.

And although we live at present in an Age of Wonders, *viz.* of wonderful Signs, wonderful and most prodigious Comets and Blazing Stars, and wonderful Apparitions (for a particular whereof, *viz.* of such as have happened in the last year 1680, pray read Mr. *Christopher Ness* his late Book, the Title whereof is, *Wonderful Signs for Wonderful Times*) yet I say the major part of us do turn all these things into perfect Ridicule and Scorn, and are far from deterring us from the evil of our ways, but do still run on, (*Jehu-like*) and persist in our accustomed Sins, and *Dalilah-like* Provocations against God, and are all of us (the Lord of Heaven knows) in a very unprepared frame, temper, and disposition, to meet him (and to kiss the Rod) in the ways of his Judgments, when they shall come suddenly upon us, like an armed Man, and there shall be none to deliver us out of his avenging hand. *Him that hath an Ear to hear, let him hear.*

And among the many Wonders which we have already had, I have made bold here to insert one more, which for ought I know may suddenly come to pass in the midst of us, (and pray pardon my plainness and well-meaning, and hearty wishes therein) the which you may please to peruse, in manner and form as followeth, *viz.*

A Wonder strange I will you tell,
From Heaven 'twill be, and not from Hell;
When as King CHARLES shall be content,
In Love to meet his Parliament,
And let them sit, For to Redress
All Grievances, both more or less,
Which in our Church and State have been,
E'er since our Blessed Virgin Queen
Until this day, Which make us bleed,
And cry, We want some nursing seed,
To Cool us in our Scarlet Fever;
This is the time, or else for ever

Adieu

*Adieu to Peace. War will begin
 In this our Land. The man of Sin
 Begins to Rant. And to declare
 Against us all, He will make War,
 Who will not stoop unto his Power,
 The Sword or Smithfield shall devour
 Such Northern Bastards which have done
 Such Mischief to his Triple Crown.
 But when our Prince, King CHARLES the Great
 Shall Dissipate this Southern Heat,
 And when our Trustees shall declare,
 A War against Saint Peters Chair,
 (And him that doth Possess the same,
 Whom Christ himself at last shall blame)
 And so secure us from those Brats
 Which to the Church and State are Rats,
 And still do Plot to keep us under,
 And Gnaw our Church and State in sunder ;
 Oh! then Sweet Peace shall Enter in :
 And after that, the Man of Sin
 Shall soon be Routed, out, from hence
 By the Powerful Charms and Influence
 Of Prince and People, Joyn'd in one,
 Like to the Father and the Son ;
 Till then, and not till then, will here insue
 A Lasting Peace ; till then, Reader, Adieu :
 And know till then that I am well content
 To suffer for an Honest Parliament,
 So long as they shall prove so Loyal,
 As we of late, have had the Tryal
 Although miscalled all Bugbears
 By some proud Rascals, whose soft Ears
 May yet in time perchance to feel
 The Dint of their Provoked Steel,
 And make them stop their mouths for fear
 A Triple Tree should them besmear,
 Who have so boldly here of late
 Belcht out against our Triple State
 Such Spite and Venome, in one hour
 Enough (say some) for to devour,
 Our Triple League within our Land,
 Where CHARLES the Second doth Command,
 By Laws Establishd with Consent
 Of three Estates in Parliament
 King Lords and Commons, Oh this State
 Cannot be Crusht without a broken Pate
 Given to some, who still do Lurke
 Within our Bowels, who much like the Kirk
 In other Countries, and would straightway bring
 All to their Bow, and likewise every thing*

Which

*Which Thwarts their Humors, And whose fair pretence
Is still their Zeal unto Omnipotence,
Although in this (Heaven knows) they are all evil
And Pope and they may shake hands with the —
As all infallible in their own proud sence ;
God keep us from their power and Influence
Within our Land, and let all Christians say
To this Amen. And here we'll part the Fray !
Although continue Praying Till we see
This Unity made visible in Three*

And that you may see as unlikely a Wonder and Prediction may come to pass, I will relate unto you who have not already seen or heard of it, a strange and most wonderful Prediction, the most part whereof is already come to pass, (and that within our Times and Remembrance) the which said most wonderful Prediction is of many hundred years standing, the which I did formerly take out of a Book, the Title whereof is *Britains Genius*, Printed here in London about 1646. or 1647. long before His Majesties most wonderful Restoration, and some space of time before His late Majesties most inauspicious and most astonishing Decolation. The contents of the said most wonderful and antient Prophecy out of the said Book, you may please to peruse as followeth., viz.

When here a Scot shall think his Throne to set
Above the Circle of a British King,
He shall a dateless Parliament beget,
From whence a furious Armed brood shall spring ;
That Army shall beget a wild Confusion,
Confusion shall an Anarchy beget,
That Anarchy shall bring forth in Conclusion
A Creature which you have no name for yet ;
That Creature shall Conceive a Sickly State,
Which shall an Aristocracy produce ;
The many-headed Beast not liking that
To raise Democracy shall rather chuse ;
And then Democracies Production shall
A Moon Calf be, which some a Mole do call ;
So acting for a while, few men shall know
Whether among them there be a Supream or no.
Five of them, shall subdue the other five,
And then those five shall by a doubtful strife
Each others Death, so happily contrive,
That they shall Die, to live a better life
And out of their corruption rise there shall
A true Supream, Acknowledged by all,
In which the power of all the Five shall be
With Unity made visible in Three,
King, People, Parliaments, with Priests and Peers,
Shall be a while your Emulous Grandees,
Make a Confused Pentarchy same years,
And leave off their distinct Claims by degrees ;

His Majesties
Restoration
plainly fore-
told.

And

*And then shall Righteousness ascend the Throne,
 Then Love, and Truth, and Peace, Re-enter shall;
 Then Faith and Reason shall agree in One,
 And all the Virtues to their Council Call.
 Then timely after this, there shall arise
 That Kingdom and That happy Government,
 Which is the Scope of all those Prophecies
 That further Truths obscurely Represent.
 But how this shall be done, few men shall see;
 For wrought in Clouds and Darkness it shall be :
 And ere it comes to pass in Publick View,
 Most of these following Signs shall first Enſue :
 A King shall willingly, himself Unking;
 And thereby grow far greater than before ;
 The Priests their Priesthood to Contempt shall bring,
 And Piety shall thereby thrive the more :
 A Parliament it self shall overthrow,
 And thereby shall a better being gain ;
 The Peers by setting of themselves below,
 A more Enobling Honour shall obtain :
 The People for a while, shall be Enslaved,
 And that shall make them for the future free ;
 By Private Loss the Publick shall be saved ;
 An Army shall by yeilding, Victor be.
 Then shall God own his People and their Cause,
 The Laws Corruption shall Reform the Laws.
 And Bullocks of the Largest Northern breed
 Shall fatted be, where now scarce Sheep can feed.*

And here although I cannot Divine, neither dare I assume to my self so much boldness as to prescribe the way and means, in order to the accomplishment of this most strange and wonderful Recited Prophecy, yet I am apt to Conjecture, and do perswade my self (if ever it shall come to pass) That it will be in a very Critical time of Common and Eminent Danger (peradventure the Dread of a Popish Successor, and the Dismal Consequence thereof) when some good Prince or other shall be so far graciously pleased to condescend to his grand Council, as to make three Kingdoms by his Royal Fiat, (*aut Le Roy Le Veult*) for the future Elective, and so they may still introduce the Royal Blood and Legitimate Line *ad Infinitum*, that are truly Protestants.

And now Courage (most Noble Loyal and Curteous Readers) what say you if his present Majesty of Great Britain should be this Person of Quality here intimated and described in this most wonderful and Antient Prophecy (a Prediction I must needs Confess most proper for such wonderful times as we now live in) would you not all unanimously and with loud Acclamations throw up your Caps and Beavers into the Air, and cry, *Vive le Roy*, (or, *Currat Lex & vivat Rex* ?) And if so, for my own part I should yet hope to see (if it shall please my Gracious God to lend me a little longer time of health and strength) many Halcyon and most happy days in the Land and Nation of my Nativity before I go away hence

hence and shall be seen no more! And that an happy union and good correspondence between his present Majesty and his future Parliaments, without the least suspicion or jealousy one of another, may yet come to pass in our days, I do most humbly beseech thy Divine Majesty, who art the Lord God Almighty, to grant for thy great names sake, and for thy Vicegerents sake, and for his Peoples sake (who are truly Loyal and obedient Subjects) in and through thy most dear and well beloved Son the Lord Jesus Christ, in whom thou art well pleased, and whom (by thy free grace, goodness and most stupendious mercy and compassion to thy poor creatures) is the Lord and giver of everlasting Life, to all those who shall most faithfully, and most sincerely, though but imperfectly obey him. And now to him with thy eternal Majesty, who art King Immortal, Invisible, and only wise God, by the assistance of thy holy (and for ever blessed) Spirit of Grace, I do most humbly desire to render, give, and ascribe all honour, glory, laud and praise, might, Majesty, reverential fear, and all humble adoration, from this time forth and for evermore, *Amen.*

And now in the close of all, Whereas in my Title-Page I have there intimated how *Magna Charta* was most solemnly and most wonderfully (even to the astonishment of the Spectators) ratified, pronounced and proclaimed, and therefore must not now leave you in the dark, as to that particular, but refer you to the *Pocket of Advice from Rome*, Number 50. (the which, in my slender apprehension, deserves to be written in Letters of Gold upon the Walls of both Houses of Parliament) And for your present (and I hope pleasant) satisfaction I have here inserted and presented you with the same at large.

HAVING presented the Reader with the most remarkable Transactions of Papal Tyranny in Foreign Parts down to the year 1254, 'tis time to look homewards, and observe Ecclesiastical Occurrences in England; our last Discourse of that kind terminating with the death of King *John*, to whom succeeded his Son *Henry*, the third of that name; for though by reason of the Feuds between *John* and his Barons, they had invited over *Lewis* the French King's Son, and many had to him sworn Allegiance; yet the Father being dead, and his faults buried with him, they did not think fit to yield up themselves to the French Man's Yoke, who already began to exercise an insufferable Tyranny wherever he had Power. And although the Pope had at first encouraged the Barons in their Rebellion, yet when once he had bestor'd King *John* into a Renunciation of his Crown, he became his Patron, and forbad *Lewis* from intermeddling with the Kingdom, as being then (forsooth!) part of *S. Peter's Patrimony*, and therefore excommunicated *Lewis* for the Invasion, which engag'd most of the Clergy to oppose him: And so *Henry* on the 28th of October, 1216. was Crown'd, being then in the 10th year of his Age; and *Lewis* being routed at *Lincoln*, was glad to come to a Treaty, quit his Pretensions, and most dishonourably retreat into France. Yet 'tis observable, that the Clergy were then such fast Friends to their Head the Pope, and so little regardful of the Descent in the Right Line, that they would not accept *Henry* for their King, without making him first do Homage to the Holy Church of Rome, and Pope *Innocent*, for his Kingdoms of England and

Ireland, and swearing to pay the 1000 Marks *per Annum* which his Father had promised to that See. (*Matth. Paris, fol. 278.*)

And besides, to bring Gifts to the Roman Mill, the Pope's Legate at that time in England, immediately on the Departure of Prince Lewis, sent his *Inquisitors* all over the Realm, and whomsoever they would discover to have sided with him, *Consensu etiam Levissimo*, Though in the least degree, must atone the Crime with a large Sum; insomuch as the Bishop of Lincoln before he could be restored to his Bishoprick, was forc'd to pay 1000 Marks to the Pope's use, and 1000 to the Legate, (for the *little Rogue* would have *snip* in the prey with the great One) and many other Bishops, and Religious Men, were glad to empty their Pockets to him at the same rate. *Matth. Paris, fol. 218.*

In the year 1220. the Pope was pleas'd to make Hugh, formerly Bishop of Lincoln, a Saint; and since the manner of his Un-Holiness's declaring the same, may be Divertive to the common English Reader, I shall give you the very words of his Letter (Translated) as I find it in *Matth. Paris, fol. 298.* 'Honorius, Servant of the Servants of God, to all our well-belov'd Sons; the Faithful of Christ, that shall inspect these Presents, Greeting and Apostolick Benediction: The worthiness of Divine Piety does make famous his Holy Ones and Elect, placed in the Bliss of the Celestial Kingdom, by the shining forth of their Miracles full upon Earth, that the Devotion of the Faithful being thereby stirr'd up, may with due Veneration implore their Aid and Suffrages; since therefore we are fully satisfied, that the Bounty of Heaven hath illustrated Hugh Bishop of Lincoln, as well in his Life, as after his Death, with a multitude of Famous Miracles: We have thought fit to Enroll him in the Catalogue of Saints, and admonish and exhort you all in the Lord; That you devoutly implore his Patronage and Intercession for you with Almighty God; farther Commanding, That the day of his Decease be henceforwards every year devoutly Celebrated as a Holyday. Dated at Viterbium the 13th Calend of March, in the fourth year of our Popedom.

But how much a Saint soever he was, we meet with another Bishop as very a Devil; for about this time a Quarrel happening between Richard Bishop of Durham, and the Monks of the same Church; they complain'd of him to the Pope, who seem'd much concern'd at his many horrid Crimes, and presently sent over a Letter in these Terms—'Honorius Bishop, &c. to the Bishops of Salisbury, Ely, &c. Greeting and Apostolick Benediction: It is fit for us to be so delighted in the sweet Savour of a good opinion of our Brethren and Fellow-Labourers, as not to connive at Vices in those that are Pestilent, since it becomes not us for the Reverence of the Order to bear with Sinners, whose Guilt renders them as worthy of as many Deaths, as they transmit Examples of Perdition to those that are under them, who are too apt to imitate only the Depravities of their Superiours. Hence it is, that since things too far dissonant from Episcopal Honesty, have very often been suggested unto us concerning our Venerable Brother the Bishop of Durham, being mov'd with such repeated Complaints, we cannot suffer the said Bishop to continue in his Enormities to the Destruction of many, for we are inform'd, That since he was advanced to the Office of a Bishop, he

has been guilty of *Blood*, and *Simony* and *Adultery*, and *Sacrilege*, and *Rapine*, and *Perjury*, [*A pretty parcel of Vertues for a Bishop, and somewhat different from those 1 Tim. 3.*] That he hath oppress'd Clerks and Orphans, obstructed the Testaments of the deceased; that he observes not the Statutes of the General Council, nor ever preaches the Word of God to the People, [*'Tis a wonder that small fault was mentioned*] hath often sworn before many, that the Church of *Durham* shall never have Peace as long as he lives: That a Monk complaining to him, that his Servants had drawn him out of a Church, and beat him till the Blood came: He answered, It had been well, if they had beat out his Brains, &c. We therefore, that we may not be guilty of the faults of others, if we should wink at such Offences, since the Clamour thereof has ascended, so that we can dissemble it no longer; think it agreeable to our Office to go down and see whether these things be so or no: Therefore by these our *Apostolical Writings*, we Command you our Brethren to examine and enquire into the premises, and report the same to us under Seal, that we may Decree therein as God shall order. Dated at *Viterb.* &c.

You see the Pope can Cant, and pretend great Zeal to correct the Criminal, but pray observe the end on't; These Bishops being met to examine the Business, the Bishop of *Durham* presently Appeals to the Pope in Person, and then they could proceed no farther, but away both he and the Monks his Adversaries must trudge to *Rome*, whither he privately sent beforehand two of his Clerks with a good Sum of Money, which so sweeten'd the Pope, that he receiv'd him very kindly: *Et post multas coram Papa Altercationes, Immoderatè profusis Expensis, &c. And after many Wranglings before the Pope, and vast Expences, both Bishop and Monks were sent back (as wise and honest as they were) to agree together as well as they could.*

But that which was most memorable in this Kings Reign was an *Act*, which tho' respecting the temporal Good of the Kingdom, yet it being Transacted chiefly by the Clergy, and with Ecclesiastical Ceremonies, it may not be improper to insert it into this Work.

The Reader must note, That when *K. Hen. III.* was become 16 years old, the Pope took upon himself, for a small Spill, privately sent him by some corrupt Courtiers, to declare him of Age to Govern himself, and therefore all Castles were to be render'd up into the Kings hands. This prov'd the Rock of Offence, whilst some obey'd the Pope, and oppos'd those as *Rebels* that put more confidence in their Castles, than in the Kings good nature, or rather in that of his upstart Counsellors. Hence first sprang a Civil Broyl, thence want of Money, then a Parliament, wherein the Grand Charter of *England's* Liberties once more was exchanged for a Sum of Money: For only upon condition of renewing the same, would the Estates allow Supplies; many Promises the King makes, and after that, *Oaths*; yet no performance, but pretends Wars in *France*, in *Scotland*, and against *Infidels*. But still his people finding them all but pretences, and ill success to attend all his Enterprizes, refuse to supply him for the Holy War: Then he seems penitent, and pours out new promises to observe *Magna Charta*, and Seals it with the most solemn Execration that is to be found in the Womb of Story, and so punctually Recorded, as if God would have

have all Generations to remember it as the Seal of the Covenant between the King of England and his people: It was done in Parliament, where the Lords Temporal and Spiritual, Clergy men, Knights, &c. all standing with Tapers in their hands burning, the King himself also standing with a chearful Countenance, holding his open hand upon his Breast; the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounc'd this Curse, as it is verbatim Recorded by Matth. Paris, fol. 839.

By the Authority of God Omnipotent, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and of the Glorious Mother of God the Virgin Mary, and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of all other Apostles, and of the Holy Martyr and Archbishop Thomas, and of all the Martyrs, and of the Blessed Edward King of England, and of all Confessors and Virgins, and of all the Saints of God: We Excommunicate, and Anathematize, and Sequester from our Holy Mother the Church, all those which henceforth knowingly and maliciously shall deprive or spoil the Church of her Right; and all those that shall by any Art or Wit rashly violate diminish, or change secretly or openly in Deed, Word, or Council, by crossing in part or in whole, those Ecclesiastical Liberties, or ancient approved Customs of the Kingdom, especially the Liberties and free Customs which are contained in the Charters of the Common Liberties of England, and the Forreists, granted by our Lord the King to the Archbishops, Bishops, Prelates, Earls, Barons, Knights, and Freeholders. And all those who have published, or being published have observed any Statutes, Ordinances, or thing against them, or any thing therein contained, or which have brought in any Customs to the contrary, or observed them being brought in, and all Writers of such Ordinances, or Councils, or Executioners, and all such as shall presume to judge according to such Ordinances: All and every such persons as are, or at any time shall be, knowingly guilty of any such matters, shall ipso facto incur this Sentence; and such as are ignorantly guilty, shall incur the same, if being admonish'd, they within 15 days after amend not. For everlasting Memory whereof, we hereunto put our Seals.

Thus far the words of the Curse, nor was the manner of pronouncing it less dreadful; for immediately as soon as the Charters and this Sentence was read and sign'd, they then all throwing down their Tapers extinguish'd and smoking, said, So let all that go against this Curse be extinct and sink in Hell: And the King having all the while continued in the posture before mentioned, said, So God me help, I will observe all those things sincerely and faithfully, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a Knight, and as I am a King Crowned and Anointed.

Pare but away some few Superstitions, and search the History of all Ages, you will not find a parallel hereunto, so seriously compos'd, so solemnly pronounc'd with an Amen from the Representative Body of the whole Kingdom, put in Writing, under Seal, preserv'd to Posterity, and (give me leave to add) vindicated by God himself in the Ruine of so many Opposers; for never has any Prince, Favourite, Councillor, or corrupt Judge, from that time to this, endeavour'd to act contrary to the Essentials of the said great Charter, but first or last it has crush'd them into Ruine, or great Calamity. Yet how little this King Henry regarded it, I shall acquaint you in the very words of the Historian—*Solutio Concilio Rex Confestim pessimo usus Concilio omnia prae dicta Cogitabat Infirmare, &c.* The Grand Council (or Parliament) was no sooner broke up, but the King following

lowing lewd and pernicious Council, contriv'd how to weaken and undo it ; for 'twas told him, That he would not be King, or at least not Lord and Master of England, if all those Liberties should be observ'd; as John his Father had experienc'd, who rather chose to dye, than thus to be shackled and trampled on by his Subjects : And these Whisperers of the Devil (*Susurrões Satanae*, so honest *Matth.* calls them) added— You need not value it if you do break your Vows, and incur this Curse, for the Pope for an hundred or two of Pounds will Absolve you. 'Tis well enough, that by signing the Confirmation of these Characters you have got a Tenth, which will amount to many thousand Marks ; and if you will but give the Pope a little portion of it, he will Absolve you, even though the Curse be ratified by himself, for he that has Power to Bind can Loose.

Thus by the villany of ill Ministers, and the knavery of the Pope, this Prince was led into Deceit, Perjury, Injustice, and Tyranny, to his own continual Trouble, and the unspeakable Damage of the Realm.

And if this honest and well intended Narrative, either in the whole or in part, shall be deemed necessary and convenient at this juncture of time, for the present and future satisfaction either of Prince or People, or shall contribute any thing towards a firm and solid Foundation and Establishment upon the true Basis of Universal Love, Charity, and good will, among the many contending Parties at this day in the midst of us, (for *sine procul dubio* we shall never be happy till that time be accomplished) I have my desire. The height of whose real ambition is, to render my self worthy of my Sovereign Lord the King and my Countries acception. And having now ventured to expose it unto publick view, I have in *Cognito* (by my honest and trusty post Pidgeon) conveyed it into the hands of a Loyal Subject and good Citizen, as I am informed, (and if my Information be not true, pray let me not therefore be Libeld) called by the name of honest *Dick Janeway*, for the Publication thereof.

And what though he be buffeted and baited, in every pittiful weekly (I had almost said *Quotidian*) Pamphlet, like an *Ursa Major & Ursa Minor*, (This being the Title of a Book newly Printed, and newly come forth, which I presume doth face in opposition to mine, and peradventure it may serve by the way of *Past Poem*, as a Responce thereunto) by a company of high-flown scurrilous *Tories*, *Tantivies*, and *Towzers*, who only bark where they cannot bite ; yet I say, I do not look upon honest *Dick*, to be a worse Subject, a worse Citizen, or a worse Commonwealths-man, for all that ; for I do perswade my self (having some small and little acquaintance with them, although I could wish *toto corde*, I had less) their most venemous and malicious tongues are no slander (*toto in toto et in quilibet parte*) and blessed be God, that we do yet live (but how long the Lord of Heaven onely knows if these men should rule the roast,) under so mild limited and well tempered Government. Wherein an honest man and a Loyal Subject may be Protected, and Defended from the furious and bold Attempts of these blood thirsty Assassins, who make it their business (*journalament se vous assure*) not onely to Libell the present and best established Legislative Government this day under the Sun, (*viz.* by King Lords and Commons) but also if by any probable or possible means they can, by their continual charging the

For I must
confess I have
not perused it.

most Loyal Subjects of His Present Majesty with Republican plots, and sham-plots, (Although by the overruling and good Providence of Almighty God, constantly found out and betrayed) on purpose to render them most odious to the Government and to bring us all at last (if they can) into a most miserable state of horror and confusion, and from such Loyal Subjects, *Tantivy* Abhorraours, and most Prophane and Dissolute Debauchees, *Isay, iterum atque iterum. Libera nos Domine. Amen.*

THE CONCLUSION.

T O that most high and lofty proud Prelate (if these lines should ever fall into His Unholy hands) the Fallible and Infallible Pope of Rome in particular, and to all the rest of his Fanatical, Atheistical, and Papistical adjuncts and adherents whatsoever.

G IVE ear, proud Rebels; Blood-suckers draw near;
Add to this doleful Piece your brinish Tear;
To see a Nation poisoned in their Blood,
With Pride and Faction, not well understood
By our Great CHARLES: Oh Rome, 'tis such as you
Would crush our Captain, and his Kingdoms too,
By your accurs'd Caballs; which to prevent,
God send our King and his next Parliament,
So fully to agree, that so at length they may
Condemn you all, as Ravenous Beasts of prey,
Who worry would, our Sheep and Shepherd too,
If not prevented, by a most Noble Crew
Of Loyal Subjects, that will faithful be
Unto the Death, for English Monarchy:
Which is so bounded by the Supream Law
Of God and nature, which will over Awe
Your Plots and Shamplots and your Trusty Friend
Who fain would bring our Captain to his end:
But Heavens forbid so base an Act as this,
Should e'er take place within this Realm of Bliss,
England I mean, an Earthly Paradise,
Before infected by such bold Dormice,
And Sons of Scarlet Whore, the which are all
Sworn Enemies to the State, and to Whitehall:
Unless you get a King, who straight must pay
Homage to you, and by your Scepter sway
His future Legal rights, and he must Dance
After your Pipe, like Italy, Spain, and France:
And many places more when you shall send
Servus Servorum to your Trusty Friend;
Who must your Benediction soon observe,
Or else Incur displeasure, to deserve
Your Thundring Bull of Excommunication when
But once Pronounc'd, straightway Allegiance then
Must waile their Top Sails, to your Bloody Flag
Or else by'th Mass you'l catch them by the Crag
And hang them up, as Traitors to your State,
Since you have sworn to admit of no such Mate.

By

By holy Cross and by Saint Peters Chair
 (Whose Vicar general under Christ you are
 If lies be true) who being his Successor
 In faith and vertue, Montebanck not Peter
 You are, who ver'e could dream of such a doting Fool
 Should er'e succeed upon his sacred Stool
 (To feed Christs Lambs, but hark, instead of that
 You fill your Coffers, with their Blood and fat)
 When as Christ said, upon this Rock I'll build
 My Holy Church, look Pope have you fulfil'd
 His Sacred Word, which was not on that Bone,
 (You have so oft built up your tottering Throne)
 Of super hunc Petrum, You are a Lyar,
 'Twas super hanc Petram, I'll build my Quire.
 Of thy confession Peter, o're which the Gates of Hell
 Shall ne're prevail, either by Pope or Spell,
 Of Magick Art, or any Devilish Plot,
 They all shall stink, and burn, and die, and rot.
 When e're they shall attempt my Churches weal
 To undermine, I'll ring them such a Peal
 Of thundring Volleys, that shall straightway make
 Them quake for fear, or else pray do not take
 My Royal Word again, but say I am Evil,
 And Pope and I are Partners with the Devil,
 Which Heavens forbid, that ever such a race
 Should spring from thence, and after some small space,
 Of his return again, should straights proclaim
 Rebels to all that draw in Charles his Wain,
 And will not buckle to our devellish pride
 Of Popery and Slavery, to Ropes they shall be ride;
 Or else old Smithfield flames shall them devour,
 To mount us up unto our stately Tower,
 Of pride, ambition, avarice, and blood,
 Treason, rebellion, faction, a sweeping flood
 Of Lyes, and Forgeries, Blasphemies and all,
 'Gainst Magna Charta Laws of Heavens Whitehall.
 Here stop; thou doting fool, and do not think
 At thy deceits and juggling tricks I'll winck,
 For ever and a day, It's time to work when you
 Attempt to poyson King and Kingdoms too,
 By your pernicious Councils; Witness of late,
 The many Loyal Presents you anticipate,
 And will not let those Loyal Subjects see
 With their own eyes, Oh Monstrous Prodigie!
 You are the Moles that turn to every shape,
 And on our Reasons would commit a Rape
 And rob us of our Sences, and pretend
 For holy Church you do so much contend.
 To free us from all errours and from evil,
 Although your power here is from the Devil.

And

And not from Christ, who never gave Commission
 Unto Saint Peter by his holy Mission,
 To feed his tender Lambs, but not to kill,
 This was the substance of his sacred will,
 Which you pervert, and by your sovereign power,
 Instead of feeding, you do still devour
 This little Flock for whom he spent his blood,
 Although by you it is not understood,
 But hark you Rebels, the time will shortly come,
 Wherein you must receive your fatal doom,
 Of, Go ye cursed into flames of fire,
 With fallen Angels, and your cursed Sire,
 Which you begat, and now for your reward,
 Within his Arms, he strongly will you guard
 To him I leave you, and your bold Comrades,
 Who when on earth did act the Masquerades,
 Your trusty Roger's makes your ways so plain,
 To darken Golhen by their numerous train,
 Of croaking Frogs, arising still from Hell,
 To charm poor Lambs, by Heracleus, Hell
 Of spight and mallice, and insatiate hate,
 Against all those that would preserve the State
 From ruine and destruction. But in this they are
 So libell'd daily by these scraps of War,
 Who arm themselves with Paper, Ink, and Plume,
 Those innocent Lambs (called Phans) for to consume,
 If possibly they can, and with them straight devour,
 When once they come within their werge and power,
 But stay bold Towzers, People are not blind,
 And though to them you have proved over kind,
 The clean contrary way, as dark appears,
 By all your Libels both in front and rear,
 Yet still they say that of our English Nation,
 You are the Phans, and stand in admiration
 To see how boldly you infect the blood
 Of Prince and People, which wash like a flood
 Of lofty Billows, purposely to drown
 Our Ship, our Pilate, and our Capteine Crown,
 Which yet sits safe, and firm as a rock can make,
 Unless you poison him, or purpose to partake,
 Of Divine Vengeance, which is coming coming on,
 And near at hand, to pluck you from your throne,
 Which Heavens accomplish in their own good time,
 I'll wait till then, the Lords time shall be mine.

I am, Pope and Adherents, &c.

Your humble Servant, but most irreconcilable Antagonist to deserve you,
 Whom I do pluck down your throne from which you sit, if by any

Theophilus Rationalis

.FINIS.

From my Study
 An. Dom. 1681.